

ANTI-SLAVERY REPORTER,

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SPANISH SLAVERY AND THE CIVIL WAR IN CUBA.

THE HOUSE OF COMMONS.

THE subject of "Slavery and the Civil War in Cuba" was brought before the House of Commons on Friday, April 19. MR. THOMAS HUGHES moved: "That an humble address be presented to Her Majesty, praying Her Majesty that she will be graciously pleased to urge upon the Spanish Government the fulfilment, without further delay, of those treaty obligations in respect to the slave population of Cuba which have been so long neglected." In an earnest speech he showed that, while the central Government of Spain was opposed to the abolition of the slaves in the colonies, *the people of Spain, and many of the colonists*, are in favour of emancipation. Public meetings had been held in a large number of important cities, such as Barcelona, Leon, Salamanca, Madrid, and other towns, calling upon the Government to carry out the principle of the revolution of 1868, and to emancipate the slaves in the Spanish colonies. These meetings also returned thanks to the deputies from Porto Rico,

who had come over with the scheme of immediate and entire emancipation, and also to the sixty-nine Spanish journals which had not received the subventions of the slave party, for the purpose of inducing them either to write against the abolition of slavery, or to keep silent upon the subject. Not long after the revolution in Spain the revolution in Cuba broke out, and that was followed by the formation of a new Government and an Assembly. On the 11th of March, 1869, the new Government declared slavery abolished in the island, the immediate effect of which was to free more than 100,000 slaves belonging to members of the Cuban Assembly, or their sympathisers. Although by the constitution of Spain, adopted after the revolution of September, 1868, the Government cannot legally possess slaves, the Government of Spain, having got possession of many of those who had been liberated, has reenslaved them, and is working them as slaves for its own benefit, their earnings in 1871 being 15,000,000 reals. After dwelling on the horrors of the civil war carried on by the Spaniards, and on the disgraceful treatment of the Chinese immigrants who

were being enslaved by Valmaseda, Mr. Hughes pleaded for the interference of the British Government in calling upon Spain to emancipate her slaves, on the ground of the treaties existing between the two countries. He observed :—

“One reason for interference on the part of England was that Spain was pouring Cuban refugees into the West Indian Islands, leaving them there dependent on the charity of the inhabitants. That was one reason justifying the interference of England; but, in addition, there was a still stronger reason for English interference, for Spain was bound by treaties which explicitly gave England the right of appealing to the Spanish Government, and of strongly pressing the appeal on this subject. In 1817 a treaty was made between Spain and England by which it was declared that the slave-trade carried on with certain parts of Africa should be abolished in 1820, and his Britannic Majesty agreed to pay £400,000 as compensation for the loss of the said traffic. That treaty proved to be insufficient for the purpose in view, being limited to a certain portion of Africa; and in 1835 a new treaty was entered into, the first clause of which enacted that the slave-trade should be declared by Spain to be totally and finally abolished in all parts of the world. It might be said that those treaties only applied to the slave-trade. They certainly did not apply to the negroes in slavery in Cuba at the time of their conclusion; but they applied to every other negro afterwards landed there, and the lowest estimate of the number of slaves imported since the date of those treaties put it at five or six times the amount previously living in Cuba, so that the greater part of the negro population in that island must have been imported since 1820, or must be the descendants of slaves imported since that date. Lord Palmerston had frequently remonstrated on the lax execution of these engagements by Spain. It was now said that Spain was almost in a state of revolution, and that it would be an act of unfriendliness to press at the present time upon the Government of that country claims founded on those treaties. He felt strongly that the time would inevitably come when such claims must be pressed, and he believed, indeed, that that time had already arrived; nor could he think that by doing so the British Government would commit an act of unfriendliness, or imperil the throne of the young King. On the contrary, it was his conviction that that throne would be better secured if a little pressure from the English Government led him to declare the emancipation of the slaves in Cuba. This matter, however, did not rest alone with the Spanish Government or with the English Government. Other Powers had already intervened to a certain extent. What had occurred in Cuba had evoked the sternest protests from the United States, protests made, in his belief, with a loyal view of obtaining emancipation for the slaves. It was the duty of the Government to insist upon the performance of our treaty obligations, and to

take care that a slave-trade, as horrible in its details as any which had ever existed, should not again be carried on.”

Mr. GILPIN seconded the motion, and referred to the steady policy of Lord Palmerston against the slave-trade and slavery as that which British statesmen would do well earnestly to carry out.

Mr. Serjeant SIMON, from long personal knowledge of the free Cuban party, bore strong testimony to the merits and excellence of the men who compose it.

Mr. R. N. FOWLER, Mr. L. CAVE, and Sir C. WINGFIELD, spoke in support of the motion.

Lord ENFIELD, on behalf of the Government, stated that the object of the motion was one with which Her Majesty's Ministers fully sympathised; but he could not consent to an address being moved in the terms in which his honorable friend had brought forward.

Instead of the clear, manly, straightforward utterances of one whose claims are just and whose demands are reasonable, Lord Enfield's tone was most unsatisfactory, and showed that the Spanish Government need be under no fear of pressure from the present Cabinet to fulfil her engagements towards the slave population, until public opinion be brought to bear upon it, which we trust will shortly be the case. Indeed, his Lordship appeared to ignore the right of insisting on the fulfilment of the stipulations of our 1820 treaty with Spain, and in the teeth of the statements which have from time to time been made by British Ministers of all parties, he almost denied our right under the 1835 treaty to interfere in the status of slavery in the Spanish colonies.

Under the 1820 and 1835 treaties nearly every slave in Cuba is entitled to his liberty, and all we ask is that Spain shall be called upon to do that which she solemnly engaged to do, and for the promised performance of which Great Britain paid her £400,000. Lord Enfield admits that up to 1868 upwards of 40,000 slaves were annually introduced into Cuba. This, from 1820, will give over 2,000,000, or from 1835 more than 1,480,000 human beings, illegally imported into the island. From the census returns it appears that there are 350,000 slaves, which is less than a third of the number who under the treaty can demand their freedom, for which the Anti-Slavery Society has so long pleaded.

Lord Enfield urged that we must look to the law of 1870, which decreed freedom to all children born since 1868, and all slaves over sixty years of age, as the best means for the ultimate extinction of slavery in Cuba. He wished the House and the British public to believe that there was no reason to doubt

that Spain would fail to carry out the law ; but Lord Enfield must surely be aware that the law of 1870 is a dead letter in Cuba. Were, however, the law enforced in relation to the Cuban population born since 1868, that would not in any way meet the just claims, under British treaties, of the present slaves to their immediate liberty. We trust that the time will come when, by persistent effort on the part of the friends of justice, the British Government will be influenced to adopt a more humane and honourable policy on behalf of the Cuban slaves, a policy altogether different from that now pursued, and that it will at length insist on Spain fulfilling her obligations without further delay.

In connection with the debate and the article in the *Times*, we were pleased to see that paper insert the following letter :—

THE CUBAN SLAVE-TRADE.

(To the Editor of the *Times*.)

SIR,—In your remarks on the Cuban question and the debate on Friday evening you state that the scope of our intervention under the Treaty of 1835 must be very limited. Such is the natural impression conveyed by the course of the debate, which diverged widely into the horrors of the Chinese coolie-trade to Cuba—a subject having “ample room and verge enough” for a separate motion.

This impression was well sustained by Lord Enfield devoting his reply to the comparatively insignificant question of the treatment and enslavement of the few *emancipados* ; ignoring altogether the magnitude of the case for intervention that by the Treaty of 1835 we claim the freedom of almost every slave in Cuba.

The present number is returned as 369,000. On Lord Enfield's statement, up to 1868 40,000 slaves were annually imported, or an enormous aggregate of 1,320,000 since 1835, in violation of the treaty.

It is thus obvious that the scope of our intervention embraces nothing less than the whole existing population of slaves in Cuba, who are, under the treaty, the wards of the British nation.

Yours truly,

EDMUND STURGE.

London, April 22, 1872.

THE ADDRESS

FROM YEARLY MEETINGS AND ASSOCIATIONS OF “THE SOCIETY OF FRIENDS” IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA TO THE KING AND CORTES OF SPAIN.

We have much pleasure in inserting the following important and interesting address

from various bodies of the Society of Friends in America to the King and Cortes of Spain.

Emanating, as it does, from thoughtful and intelligent observers who, having witnessed the effect of slavery on their country through a long course of years, are now able to speak of the blessed effects of perfect freedom, the document possesses peculiar value.

It was presented to King Amadeus by Señor J. L. do Vizcarrondo, one of the Honorary Secretaries of the Abolitionist Society of Madrid, at an interview specially granted for the purpose.

The King was pleased to receive the address with much interest, and expressed his warm sympathy with the object of it, and his desire to promote it as far as his position as a constitutional monarch will admit.

The Friends in America have done good service by this effort, and we hope their sympathies may soon be extended to the 1,500,000 slaves in Brazil, left in almost hopeless bondage by the Act passed by the Brazilian Cortes last autumn.

“To the King and Cortes of Spain.

“May it please the King and Your Honorable Body,—

“The undersigned, members of the religious Society of Friends—a people who for nearly two centuries have been conscientiously opposed to the traffic in human beings, and holding them in bondage—most respectfully represent that we have been engaged for several years in the education and elevation of the freed slaves of our own country. Having thus learned the practical blessings of emancipation, and moved by love for our fellow-men everywhere, we offer to you our earnest petition in favour of the immediate and complete abolition of Slavery in all the Spanish dominions.

“While desiring not to appear as interfering in the affairs of others, we feel that as members of the one human family, as children of the same Father in heaven, and, in common with you, professing to be followers of Christ, we may affectionately express our deep solicitude on this account.

“Observation has taught us that the

moral effects of slavery are sadly injurious both to the master and the slave. While the slave is often kindly treated it is yet true that cruel and avaricious owners will shamefully abuse the power they hold under the protection of the law.

"Having been witnesses of the gross darkness which human slavery had spread over our own land, and partakers of the bitterness of its curse, and now experiencing the inexpressible relief brought by emancipation, and the arising of our country as into newness of life, we would confidently expect equally good results from the same step on the part of Spain.

"Eight years have passed since the abolition of slavery in the United States, and although the emancipation was sudden it has not only been followed by no convulsion, but there is promise of unprecedented prosperity in the sections of country formerly occupied by slaves.

"Those who foreboded material disasters have been disarmed of their fears by the result.

"One of the largest crops of cotton, the chief staple of the late Slave States, was produced last year under free labour, and the number of industrial establishments is already largely on the increase. So far as we know not a single case of insurrection or combined outrage on the part of the liberated slaves has occurred, nor, on their part, more than an ordinary amount of individual crime.

"The freedmen have eagerly imbibed a rudimentary education, and in many cases (although formerly prevented by law from even learning to read and write) they have already qualified themselves to be teachers of their own people, and to fill other positions in public service. In some parts of the country the number of slaves largely preponderated in the population, but these districts are no exception to the general rule of peace and prosperity.

"We submit, therefore, that justice and policy combine to render it wise to abolish by law a system fraught with so much evil. The pressure of civilised opinion in our day is heavy against it, as one of the relics of darker ages; and we trust that the time is near at hand when, through the preva-

lence of the pure spirit of *Christianity*, there will not be a single *slave in Christendom*.

"That God will so enlighten, purify, and strengthen those who are in power as to speed the day is our fervent and humble prayer.

"Signed, on behalf of New England Yearly Meeting of Friends,

"JOSEPH GRINNELL. EDWARD EARLE.

"REBECCA C. GRINNELL. ANN B. EARLE.

"On behalf of Freedmen's Committee, New York Yearly Meeting,

"EDWARD TATUM, Secretary.

"On behalf of Friends' Freedmen's Association of Philadelphia Yearly Meeting,

"JAMES E. RHOADS,

"President of the Board.

"PERCIVAL COLLINS,

"Secretary of the Board.

"On behalf of Baltimore Yearly Meeting of Friends,

"FRANCIS T. KING, Clerk.

"On behalf of North Carolina Yearly Meeting of Friends,

"NEREUS MENDENHALL, Clerk.

"On behalf of Ohio Yearly Meeting of Friends,

"GEORGE K. JENKINS, Clerk.

"On behalf of Indiana Yearly Meeting of Missionary Board,

"TIMOTHY HARRISON, Secretary.

"On behalf of Western Yearly Meeting of Friends,

"CHARLES LOWDEN.

"On behalf of Freedmen's Committee of Iowa Yearly Meeting of Friends,

"CHARLES H. MITCHENER, Secretary."

THE CUBAN EXILES IN JAMAICA.

EXTRACT of a letter from the Rev. R. Montsalvage, the Spanish Protestant Minister in Kingston, to the Rev. J. M. Phillippo:—

"REV. AND DEAR SIR,—In the name of the Committee of Beneficence of the Cuban Evangelical Congregation organised in Kingston, and in the name of the 159 widows and orphans who are relieved weekly by this benevolent society, I give thanks to you and to the forty-three English contributors, from whom we received the sum of £100 in January and £123 5s.

in the present month of March—total, £223 5s.—from the subscription raised by Mr. Joseph Cooper.

"God, who has heard our prayers and who has prepared so many generous hearts to correspond with your call in favour of our work, will give a hundredfold to you and to all the givers. . . .

"Your brother in Christ,
"RAMON MONTSALVAGE."

EXTRACTS OF LETTERS RELATIVE TO CUBAN CHILDREN IN JAMAICA, EDUCATIONAL EXCLUSIVENESS, WASTE LANDS.

(To the Editor of the Gleaner.)

SIR,—The recent questions put in the House of Commons, by Mr. Gilpin, to the Secretary of State for the Colonies, as to what was being done by the government of this colony in aid of the unfortunate and needy amongst the Cuban refugees in this city, and the more recent steps taken by a neighbouring Central American State, as appears in your paper of a late date, towards their immediate pecuniary relief, and ultimate emigration thither, lead me to ask why and how it is that public opinion has not been brought to bear in their favour here?

Beyond a few donations to, and a Bazaar instituted by, the Cuban Committee of Benevolence, and some contributions by a few of the much-abused philanthropists in England, nothing has been done. No one has of late said a word in their favour from the press, and yet we know that many of them sorely want assistance now, who, were they settled here permanently, would be useful citizens.

To the credit of the Cubans, be it said, that during their three years' residence in this colony there has been but one solitary instance, as far as I can remember, in which the slightest blame or suspicion of crime has fallen on any of them, and that was a crime evidently of political or personal vindictiveness common enough in Ireland, and recently equalled, if not surpassed, in the town of Sheffield, and not due to drink, debauchery, or a desire to rob. Of neither of these offences have I heard of a solitary instance amongst the hundreds of refugees. I say again, that some steps should be taken to urge their claims for sympathy and assistance on the Government. These people are not rebels; and, even if sympathisers with the Cuban cause, they have sought our shores because they were unable or unwilling to join in the strife now unhappily raging in their country. To go to Central America, always in agitation, revolution, and war, would be to put themselves into the very strife they came here to avoid. Encourage those who are here to remain, treat kindly their helpless women and children, and you will attract here a still larger number of the very class of people we want, who are able and willing to live and

labour in this country, knowing no fatherland to which they could retire with riches, if they should be so fortunate as to acquire them, and forming a resident proprietary, content to live and die amongst us. The people of this country, moreover, owe to many of these Cubans a large amount of admiration and esteem, for it is well known that they have shown themselves more ardent and sincere opponents of slavery than any people in the world, having voluntarily given up thousands of slaves without any compensation or remuneration whatever; indeed, the present state of things in Cuba is greatly due to their detestation of slavery and their determination to abolish it, in spite of the opposition of the Spaniards and Spanish officials, who fattened on the system.

In conclusion, let me urge you, Mr. Editor, to do all you can to call forth some expression of the mind of the community on the subject at once. Private aid, even to women and children, will soon reach its limits, and it is time that some public action should be taken.

I am, dear Mr. Editor,

Your obedient Servant,

JAMES CECIL PHILLIPPO.

Kingston, May 2, 1872.

P.S.—I do not know what the regulations of Wolmer's Free School are, but it certainly seems ungenerous and impolitic to refuse an English education to the Cuban children for whom application for admission to that Institution was made.

Is it too late to get them admitted to a share of its benefits? or must we still refuse them even this little boon?

(To the Editor of the Gleaner.)

SIR,—No words could sufficiently express the profound gratitude which the Cuban community in Jamaica must feel towards Doctor Phillippo for his noble words in their behalf, which appear in this day's *Gleaner*. They are such as might be expected from an intelligent gentleman. Even should it happen that the seed he has sown may, unfortunately for both Jamaica and the Cubans, fall after all on barren soil, Dr. Phillippo may have the satisfaction of knowing that they will never forget the consummate tact and ability which he has displayed in arriving at so correct an appreciation of their character, disposition and wants.

We, the Cubans, have found in Jamaica a climate analogous to our own; a soil perfectly adapted to our system of agriculture, and, above all, that which we most seek, that admirable security of person and property which cannot be excelled elsewhere in America, or in any other quarter of the globe perhaps. Let the Government consider that, as Dr. Phillippo so fitly expresses it, "private aid will soon reach its limits;" that we, as a community, are industrious; that those amongst us who depend on private aid or that of Benevolent Societies, would much rather prefer that kind of assistance which would exercise their industry and energy, and would secure for them an honourable independence.

Such assistance the Government can render. It possesses thousands of acres. Is it not a sin against Heaven to allow them to continue untilld, when there is a worthy class of citizens ready and willing to render them productive? Let portions of them be offered to the Cubans on such terms as will induce them to accept; but let the men who take the matter in hand be such as will have the welfare of Jamaica at heart, and whose names shall be a guarantee of honesty, fair dealing and impartiality.

It is but fair in this connection to mention the fact, that that eminently kind gentleman—the memory of whose name we, in common with the people of Jamaica, should respect—the late Mr. Emmanuel Lyons, was unremitting in his efforts to ascertain the opinions of some of our people on the subject, for the purpose of submitting them to the Honorable Legislative Council, which was in session on last November or December; but unfortunately death came to deprive us of a valuable friend. All honour to his memory!

I hope, Mr. Editor, that there will be spare room for the insertion of this communication in the columns of your valuable paper, so that Dr. Phillippo may know that his efforts are duly appreciated, and that the subject may continue to receive the attention which its importance deserves.

That the project may be realised, with mutual benefit and profit, is the sincere desire of

A CUBAN.

Spanish Town, May 6, 1872.

SLAVERY IN MADAGASCAR.

AN INTERESTING INCIDENT IN A CHURCH CONFERENCE.

IN our last *Reporter* we directed the attention of our readers to the slave-trade which is still carried on, more or less, between Africa and Madagascar. In this island, twice as large as Great Britain, it is thought that the population numbers 5,000,000 persons, a large number of whom are domestic slaves. In the Imerina district, where Christianity has produced such amazing results, the question of slavery is exciting attention, and becoming the subject of discussion. This leads us to hope that, as in other countries so here, the influence of the Gospel will ultimately remove this evil from the island. In a speech at the annual meeting of the London Missionary Society, in Exeter Hall, MR. JOSEPH SEWELL, a missionary belonging to the Society of Friends, in the course of his remarks gave the following incident, as illustrating the progress of religion, and the difficulties that have to be contended with, and which will inspire the friends of the Anti-Slavery cause with hope:—

"I will mention one little circumstance to show that real progress has been made, and to point out at the same time the difficulties that

have to be contended with. In the island of Madagascar, especially in Imerina, slavery exists to a large extent. Christians have slaves, and they have Christian slaves under them. It is an institution that we all have great difficulty in dealing with. I believe we are placed in very much the same position as the early Christians were in reference to the slavery that existed in the Roman Empire. We know how the apostles treated the subject then, and we have tried to treat it in the same manner. Though the slavery exists in a modified form, and is nothing like the slavery of the West Indies, or the Southern States of America, it is very sad in many of its consequences, and only the Gospel can overcome it. Now I want you to come with me to one of the churches in Madagascar for a short time. We met there the representatives from various churches. The church was as full as it could hold, and perhaps there were 1,500 persons present. A paper on Church Discipline by one of the missionaries now present was read on the occasion, and, subsequently, there was a little discussion, and the interest taken in such a subject by so many persons showed that the Gospel had made progress in the island. As the discussion went on, one of the natives rose and said, 'There is one thing I should like to know: Is it proper for a slave-dealer to be admitted a member of a Christian Church?' He had seen that there had been some difference of action in this matter—that in one Church a slave-dealer had been admitted, and in another rejected. One of your worthy missionaries, who looked upon the question from the side of caution, for he knew that there sat behind him the brother-in law and the nephew of the Prime Minister, two persons next in rank to himself, thought it was a very delicate question to introduce, and asked that it might be allowed to rest for a short time. Another of your missionaries, equally cautious, but yet endowed with courage, said to himself, 'It will not do shirk the question in this way;' and he called upon one of the pastors of the church during the time of the persecution to state whether they admitted slave-dealers into the Church in those days. The pastor got up, and without hesitation said, 'We did not; it was not that we considered slavery or slave-dealing in itself wrong, but we noticed how those who dealt in slaves did not act according to the command, "Do unto others as you would be done by;" and we observed how much immorality and falsehood were connected with the trade; therefore we decided that such persons should not be admitted.' Other pastors of the Church during the days of the persecution—men who hazarded their lives in favour of the Gospel—spoke to the same purport. The word of those three pastors was quite sufficient to make it plain that the Church in Madagascar would not admit into its membership those who obtained their living by buying and selling slaves. We missionaries, who listened with great interest to what was passing, said to ourselves, 'The thin end of the wedge has been introduced, and if they can thus apply the

principles of the Gospel to slave-dealing, they will the sooner or later apply it to the buying and holding of slaves."

THE MARQUIS OF NORMANBY, QUEENSLAND, AND THE POLY- NESIAN SLAVE-TRADE.

THE following extract of a letter from Queensland has been sent to us for publication :—

"The Governors of Queensland, past and present, have looked with official approval upon the bringing of Polynesians into the colony. The Marquis of Normanby has been greatly hoodwinked by the sugar-growers in the north of the colony, and his public sayings on what he saw there are in full proof that your deputation in London to him was so much time and trouble thrown away. He has sworn to govern impartially, but his speeches and his influence are entirely on the side of those who are unscrupulously bent on the prosecution of their personal ends, no matter how they conflict with the real welfare of the colony or with common humanity.

"There is no more need for coloured labour in Queensland than there is in Virginia. The summers are hotter in the State of New York than in Southern Queensland; the winters are, of course, colder. In Middle Queensland, on the coast at all events, and all the sugar farms there are on the coast, white labour would be more efficient than coloured labour.

"The whole of the question lies in small compass. The overwhelming majority of the people in Queensland are utterly opposed to coloured labour. Those in favour of it are a mere handful, and this handful is becoming smaller through the inevitable action of the Court of Insolvency. The employers of coloured labour, one by one, are passing under the inspection of the Commissioners in the Court of Insolvency, and their lands into the hands of mortgagees."

SKULL-HUNTING AND KID- NAPPING.

In the Malay Archipelago a practice obtained known as skull-hunting. This system also exists in the Solomon Islands. It appears that it is a custom with the natives of one island to visit other islands with a view to kill as many individuals as possible, when they cut off the heads of their slain foes, which are taken home and presented to the chiefs as trophies of valour. The more skulls a chief gets, the greater man he is supposed to be, these skulls

being kept by them in their houses. On Oct. 21, 1871, the Rev. R. H. Codrington called the attention of Lord Belmore, the Governor of New South Wales, to this practice as detailed by the Rev. C. H. Brook, and as being somehow connected with the labour vessels. Lord Belmore, in his dispatch of Nov. 23, 1871, to Lord Kimberley, reported that the theory as to the direct connection of the skull-hunting ships with labour ships was probably erroneous. Governors and officials have not always, however, the opportunities of discovering facts and circumstances which missionaries have who live among the natives, and who have to grapple with the evils which are carried on. We find that subsequent inquiry confirms the fears expressed that there is a connection between the skull-hunting and the labour vessels. In a blue-book just issued, containing the report of the proceedings of H. M. ship *Rosario*, during her cruise among the South Sea Islands, between Nov. 1, 1871, and Feb. 12, 1872, Captain Markham, under date of 10th Feb., 1872, among other matters, reports :—

"5. The diabolical practice of head-hunting is, I am told, also practised by vessels engaged in the labour trade. The mode in which it is carried on is, that the chief of one of the tribes or islands enters into an agreement with the master of a ship that if he will supply him with so many heads of his enemies, which they keep as trophies, he will give him an equivalent in men to be sent away for labour. My informant detailed the following account of which he was actually an eyewitness. Says that a low green brig arrived off the island of Florida (one of the Solomon group); that on a canoe going off to her, whilst passing under the stern, the stern boat was suddenly lowered on the top of the canoe, smashing it to pieces; that boats were then lowered, apparently to pick up the men in the water, but directly they were seized their heads were cut off over the gunwale of the boat with long knives. This was also observed by other natives in canoes who immediately took to flight." The Commander then proceeds to give particulars of the kidnapping of natives by a schooner, whose name he gives.

The details here presented are truly revolting; yet we fear that there is no deed of darkness or of blood which some of the reckless characters engaged in the labour traffic will hesitate to resort to, in order to obtain a cargo of human beings for the markets in which profitable returns can be realised.

SLAVERY AND THE SLAVE-TRADE IN FIJI.

We are not unfrequently assured that the representations of the atrocious slave-trade to, and of the ill-treatment of many of the kidnapped native labourers, in Fiji are untrue; that though occasionally some unforeseen accident savouring of wrong or of oppression may occur, yet as a general rule we are told that the evils complained of are fictitious. A cotton planter, in a letter to the *Cotton Supply Reporter*, dated Mango Island, Fiji, January 25, 1872, says:—"You must not believe all the different papers say with regard to the capturing and ill-treating of natives by Fijian planters." Most thankful should we be to know that only fair means were employed to obtain labourers, and that all the Fijian planters were, as no doubt some of them are, honourable men who wish to do right. Evidence, however, accumulates day after day of the atrocious manner in which natives are enslaved, and revelations are made by planters themselves of ill-treatment toward the labourers on some of the plantations. From a mass of documents we select as an illustration a letter which has been sent to us since our last issue:—

"SLAVE HUNT BY THE —.

"January 1, 1872.

"DEAR SIR,—I am sorry to inform you that on the 27th of December last one of those slavers that are now constantly prowling about among our islands, called here with a returned labourer who had been seven years in Fiji working among the cotton plantations. The vessel was* . . . already rendered famous by her previous history. . . . The owner refused to let the returned labourer land on his own island. His father went on board to receive his son, but was informed by the owner that he had to return to Fiji with the vessel for his payment, and could not be allowed now to land, as his payment was left in Fiji. His father and friends came to me greatly excited at the young man being thus kept a prisoner on board, after being so long away, and implored me to try and induce the captain to land him without payment, rather than take him to Fiji again. I went on board, and informed the captain and owner what the man's father and friends had said to me. He said, 'The young man does not want to land here, he wants to go back to Fiji with me.' After some talk he handed two Fiji newspapers, and said, 'I will take him on shore to see them.' He turned round a sail which prevented me from seeing the other side of the poop, as if he were going to bring the lad to me; but he got him quietly put into his boat with some of the most degraded-looking of white men, and put off quickly for the shore. Observing the boat at

a short distance from the ship, the sailing-master said, 'He is off for the shore with him.' I left the ship in a canoe, and had scarcely got on shore when the natives came running to inform me that the captain, adopting the usual practice now in the trade with returned labourers, demanded three lads to be given to go to Fiji with him, in exchange for the returned lad, before he would put him and his payment on shore. To this proposal the natives appeared at once to agree, giving him three lads who would step into his boat as soon as the returned lad and his property were put on shore. This was done, and his payment consisted of three cheap muskets, some ammunition, three axes, one adze, and a piece of calico, for seven years' work. Some of the ship party had been drinking freely on board, and gave some intoxicating drink as freely among the natives, to all who would partake of it. A quarrel ensued, when the three lads given in exchange cleared out of the boat, and got separated without receiving personal injury, when the boat made off for the ship. The natives threatening revenge on the captain for not paying them for a number of pigs and cocoa-nuts he had caused them to collect, I advised the natives strongly against this, and sent one of my teachers to watch the ship's boat, &c. After they heard our church-bell ring, and knew the natives were assembled for public worship, the boat again put off for the shore, going to the other side of the island. Being informed by the teacher, I cut short the service and went quickly to where the boat was, informing the captain and party of their danger, when he returned to his boat.

"An old chief's musket had got out of order, and was brought to see if the captain could repair it. He promised to do so on board his vessel, if the chief would send off a man to bring it back that night, or next morning. I said to the chief I feared that his man and musket would not be sent on shore, but taken to Fiji. But his degraded trained interpreter (or deceiver), a Tanna man he had in his boat, assured him both would be returned, and as he had once lived with the chief, went on board with the musket. As he had not been sent on shore towards morning, the chief sent off a man and his own son, and one of my boys who happened to be sleeping at his village that night, in a canoe, to bring on shore his man and his musket. My boy, named Noula, went on board for them, and was either detained forcibly or remained. After waiting till they saw there was no hope of his return, they returned to the shore with the sad news; but before they had got to the shore the vessel had sailed, with the chief's musket, his Tanna man, and my boy on board. The lad's father and mother, and his chief, were exceedingly grieved about him, as they were all ignorant of any intention on the boy's part to sail, and I feel grieved by the loss of a boy for whom I had done so much, and who had just begun to be very useful to me in the mission work. By such treatment our people are much annoyed. The lad taken away was his father's only son, and should —"

* We have the names both of the vessel and captain.—ED. A.-S. R.

call again at — I fear he will suffer in revenge, for the lad was a universal favourite among the natives of his island.

"I had warned the natives of the character of the vessel, and knew nothing of what had taken place till the vessel was out of sight; yet it has caused much bad feeling among the natives toward us. The owner put them off their guard by declaring that he would not steal any of them, as he was afraid of the missionary writing to tell a man-of-war if he did so. Is it any wonder that the innocent sometimes suffer by such conduct on the part of men who would be received in Sydney and Melbourne as respectable gentlemen, but who in this slave-trade act as if destitute of the fear of God and man, while their immorality and vices are revolting to the natives even of heathen islands?"

"If the death of Bishop Pattison and of the many who are now cut off in revenge for the kidnappers' reckless conduct and deeds of darkness, does not lead the British Government to suppress this unlawful trade, I fear some of our missionaries will soon follow, for all our lives are more or less endangered.

"The kidnappers or slavers, I am sorry to say, are many of them our own countrymen, and are exciting the natives against us, and trying to get them to drive us from the islands. They have urged the natives of N— and S— islands to kill their missionaries, so that they may be able to do as they please in their kidnapping without exposure. May God in mercy bring protection and deliverance to us and our poor islanders from Queensland and Fiji slavers.

"Yours faithfully,
"—————."

One's heart sickens at the detail of iniquities and atrocities committed by these men, who now are counselling the murder of missionaries. Most earnestly do we hope that the Government will AT ONCE set in motion the machinery necessary to prevent the nefarious trade from being carried on.

The Anti-Slavery Reporter.

MONDAY, JULY 1st, 1872.

EMIGRATION TO SURINAM FROM BRITISH INDIA.

WE have just received a copy of a Convention between the King of the Netherlands and the Queen of Great Britain, authorising the Surinam planters to make India the recruiting ground to obtain labourers on their sugar estates. This Convention is published in the Surinam papers. It is ratified on February 17, 1872, and signed on behalf of the Dutch Government by ROEST VAN LIMBURG and DE WAAL, and on behalf of the British Government

by E. A. T. Harris, Minister at The Hague, who adds a note to the Convention.

We deeply regret the course which the British Government has taken in this matter, and after past experience of the working of these schemes, we believe the public will hear of this Convention with surprise and regret. It consists of twenty-seven articles, some of which are of a character to demand the gravest consideration, and under which we fear that many of our fellow-men will endure much suffering and oppression.

Under articles 1 and 2, the NETHERLAND GOVERNMENT has full liberty, by its own agents (who are to be approved by the British Government), to recruit and engage labourers *throughout India*, and send them, under specified conditions to Surinam, a distant colony where the people, laws, language, usages, and labour will be altogether strange to them, and where they will be beyond the pale of British Authority. We earnestly protest against our Government consenting to hand over hundreds, if not thousands, of our British fellow-subjects, who practically are unable to understand the bearing of their emigration to a foreign colony, among a foreign people, and to be placed under foreign law.

Articles 5 and 6 appear to be inserted for the protection of the emigrants. They provide that a British appointed agent at the ports of embarkation shall be specially charged with their interests, and no immigrant shall be embarked unless such agent has been enabled to satisfy himself that his engagement has been voluntary, that he has a *perfect knowledge of the nature of his contract, the place of his destination, probable length of his voyage, and different obligations and advantages of his engagement.*

If the British Agent will *faithfully carry out* these provisions, and in no case allow a single emigrant to depart from India unless he has a *perfect knowledge* of the particulars named, few can raise any serious objection. But in such case we venture to predict that not a single labourer will leave India shores for Surinam. We challenge any man to impart to a native in India a full knowledge of the nature of the contract he has to enter upon, of the nature of the work, or of the different obligations under which he brings himself.

If we are not misinformed, the labour laws of Surinam, like those in the French colonies, are cruel and oppressive in the highest degree. They are of the most complicated character, are armed with penalties at every point, of the most harassing nature to an emigrant, and with a most

undue leaning towards the master and against the labourer. Thousands of coolies now on the West Indian sugar plantations can testify that they never understood the nature of the work they were engaged to perform, nor many of the responsibilities under which they have been brought. They will testify that their sad experience has proved how gross were the misrepresentations made to them as inducements to go to the far west. Either the article will be practically disregarded, or if honestly carried out will prevent any immigration from India.

Article 7 renders it obligatory for the emigrant to make contracts *out of the country* where the work is to be performed. This we regard as highly objectionable. In no case should men be required to contract for work *unless in the country where the labour is offered*, and where he has the power to *select his own master and make his own terms without force or fraud*. This we deem the only satisfactory method of men binding themselves either to give or receive labour.

Article 19 is one of great importance, having the appearance of fairness, but which practically will, in numberless cases, be of little value. The British Consul should be the protector of the Indian emigrants. To him they will have to look, and from him obtain, if possible, redress of grievances. Hence, access to him should be jealously guarded; no law should bar the immigrant from seeking his aid and counsel at any time. The article says, "No obstacle shall be opposed to the labourer's resorting to the Consular Agent and communicating with him, *without prejudice, however, to the obligations arising out of his engagements.*" The sting is in the words we have italicised. If the Surinam emigration laws are like those of some other colonies, a coolie is under obligation *not to go beyond a certain distance from the estate without a written pass from the overseer; and being found beyond the specified mileage without such pass, may be taken up by any constable and treated as a deserter.* If, then, a number of immigrants are located in Surinam beyond the allotted distance from the Consular Agent, this article prevents their going to him, no matter what the grievance from which they may suffer, as the obligations arising out of their engagement prevents their leaving the district without the written pass. The immigrants under such circumstances may suffer the most grievous injustice without the possibility of obtaining redress.

But what shall be said of the fact stated in the note to the Convention of the British Minister—"The Dutch regulations on the subject of labour are rules relative to task work. AND IT IS IMPOSSIBLE TO SAY WHE-

TER THESE RULES ARE IN EFFECT HARSH OR LIBERAL TO THE IMMIGRANT, OR WHETHER A NATIVE OF INDIA WOULD AT THE RATES THEREIN PRESENTED BE ABLE TO PERFORM SO MUCH WORK AS WOULD AFFORD TO HIM ADEQUATE MEANS FOR SUBSISTENCE AND ENABLE HIM, WITH PROPER CARE, TO LAY BY A SUM EVERY MONTH." The British Government make the renewal of the Convention contingent on the effect of the regulations, and the willingness of the Dutch Government to modify any of them if necessary.

Confessing themselves to be ignorant on the very points which are of the *most vital importance to the labourers*, the British Government consent to allow the Surinam planters to obtain as many Indian subjects as they desire, and consign them under these doubts to the care and dealing of men who will only be anxious to get as much work out of their hands as possible, on terms most conducive to their own interests. We look at the Indian Emigrants in Demerara, in Mauritius, and remember their disabilities, sufferings, and oppressions, proved before Commissions appointed to investigate grievances submitted to them, and we tremble for those who under this Convention will be expatriated to the Dutch colony of Surinam.

It might have been supposed that the recent exposures, both in this country and in France, of the oppressive conduct of the Dutch towards the labourers in Java would have been a warning to our Government, and that it would not have listened for a moment to any such proposal as this Convention contains.

A FIJIAN PLANTER'S CONFES- SIONS—ARE THEY TRUE?

THE *Otago Daily Times*, of February 23, 1872, contains a letter from a cotton planter in Selia Levu, in the Fijian group, giving an account of the Islands, and of his proceedings in establishing himself on a plantation he purchased and settled. The manner in which he writes respecting the purchase and punishment of natives is so flippant, so disgusting, that a question has been raised whether the statements made can be correct. The editor of the *Evening Star* newspaper, of February 24, 1872, comments with indignation on the atrocities said by this planter to have been committed by him. We know that there is a class of low-bred, reckless men who hesitate not to treat the darker race worse than their dumb animals; but we shall be glad if satisfactory evidence can be adduced to prove that the accounts in these letters are

untrue. If there is any approach to truth in the statements made, it is additional proof that the slave-trade and slavery have already struck their roots deep into society in Fiji, and that the fearful scenes in West Indian slavery will be enacted over again in Fiji. Here is this planter's account of his

PURCHASE AND TRANSPORTATION OF SLAVES.

"Next morning we started, and arrived in Levuka about one o'clock. Now, the first thing to be done was to see *what niggers were for sale*, and hearing that a cutter had come in from Tanna with twenty-five men, also the Wainui, from Solomon Islands, with eighty, we started off to have a look at them. First, we boarded the Wainui, and had an inspection of all the men. I did not fancy them, as there were a lot of old men, and some very thin small boys, not an even lot at all. You could have drafted out about 40 good men, but this the captain objected to, so you had to take a cut of them just as they came. We next went on board the cutter to have a look at the Tanna men, and a fine lot of young fellows they were, with the exception of one man who had been very ill with dysentery, and who was so weak that he could not stand. I would never have believed so thin a man could live. *Now we went on shore to find the agent, and see how much he wanted for the niggers on board the cutter. £12, says he; so I told him to keep them till they got fat. He says, what will you give? says I, £10; so after this style of thing for about two hours, we bought them for £10 each—he sticking out for gold on the beach; no truck with kites on Sydney. We also bought the dysentery nig. for a fiver, with the proviso that if the beggar died he was to give us a sound man on our next trip, on our paying another five pounds. Now you must know that we have had a war in Fiji; the Lovoni tribes on the island of Ovalau rose in rebellion against Cakobau, and he marched all his warriors to the island, when, after a few weeks' fighting, he got them all jammed into a corner, when they gave in. To punish the rebels he passed a sentence on them condemning them to work on the plantations for five years, charging for them at the same time at the rate of £6 per head per annum. We immediately applied for forty—twenty for ourselves, and ditto for — and —. When we went to take delivery it was a curious sight: about 2,000 men, women, and children in one long line on the beach, guarded by Cakobau's soldiers. The first man that had applied got his number counted off—you had just to take them as they came. When our forty men were counted out we got a half-caste and marched them off to an empty house for the night, in which we locked them, put six Fiji men round the premises with loaded guns, so that if any of them tried to bolt they would be shot; found them all safe in the morning, so chartered a cutter and put them all afloat, so that the beggars would have to swim about a mile if they jumped overboard. Having now*

a cutter under charter, for which we were paying 35s. a day, the next thing to do was to try and buy a cutter for ourselves, put the Tanna men on board, and get away home. Our choice fell upon a very nice 10-ton cutter called the *Kate*, for which we paid £220, and having got possession, we put — on board, with a Fiji sailor called Moses, got the Tanna men all settled in the hold for the night, and now for a start home in the morning. We have settled that — and — go in the chartered cutter with the Lavonis, and I go in our own cutter with — and the Tanna men. At daylight, or rather about eight o'clock, we make a start—four cutters, all bound for Taviuni with labour—get outside the reef, and then it falls a dead calm; no fun—hot as Billy-oh—130 in the hold with the Tanna men, so stick on deck; a good deal of chaff between the four boats as to how they were getting on. As evening comes on a light breeze springs up, and the cutter that we had chartered is getting away to windward; we try to follow suit, but cannot get within a mile of her; the two other boats away to leeward; and so sets in the night. About twelve o'clock a land breeze springs up, and we tack between the reefs until daylight lets us see where we are. If you could get a chart you might see what we were trying to do, viz. to get to windward between the Island of Nakaya (off the end of which there is a tremendous reef), and the Island of Mbatiki. At dawn we were looking about for the other boats, but none were to be seen, and we were just at the point of getting through the passage of Mbatiki. Within an hour the wind sprung up, and it did blow, and no mistake. *My dysentery nigger was now an awful nuisance. I had to keep him behind me at the stern of the boat, for if I turned my head for a minute the other wretches threw lumps of firewood at him; they wanted to kill him and throw him overboard. Poor devil, I pitied him, the sea breaking over the boat, he lying stark naked (the rest all the same), and dare not go into the hold for fear of being killed.*

"About one o'clock we were off Gora, the wind freshening, sea ditto, *nigs. shivering like dogs in wet sacks, dysentery nig. can't say whether dead or not, so determined to run in for shelter. Put the boat about, and got into harbour all safe. — was not at home, but his partner, Mr —, was very kind, and gave me an empty house to put the nigs. in, so that they could get a fire and warm themselves, also cook some yams. My dysentery friend he put in his own kitchen, in charge of the cook. I shall leave him here, as if he has another day of it he is certain to die.*"

From the Reverend Lorimer Fison's letter published in the Blue-book presented to Parliament in February, 1872, it is clear that "flogging" is the punishment inflicted by the cotton planters in Fiji upon their offending labourers. The lash, the symbol of slavery, is however not the only mode of torturing the wretched creatures there. If the account of the planter so free in his

confessions be correct, there are other modes of brutal conduct adopted to keep down the slaves. Here is the description of

PUNISHMENT AND ILLTREATMENT OF THE LABOURER.

"We are just finishing our cook house, in which we intend to live until the wooden house is up. It is a fine roomy Fiji kitchen, 24 ft. by 18 ft.; plenty of room for you to flourish about in with a big stick, and do a bit of nigger driving. We intend to take one of our Lovoni women into the house; she is the missionary's wife, and I think she will do; at any rate we will give her a trial; and she can be easily walked out if she don't suit. The cook boys are a great bother; they are just like other boys all over the world, and require everlasting watching; then, they are no hands at washing. I sent Sophia (that is the name of our cook) over to — to help her to wash, yesterday, and she seems to have got on very nicely. The clothes look first-rate for nigger washing, and of course she will improve upon her first attempt. It is a great pity that they have no female labour on —'s place, though the women may be worse than the boys; if so, it is very easy to exchange them. We had our first flogging the day before yesterday; I don't quite fancy it, but obedience must be insisted on to the letter. How it came about was this: All the Tanna men were sent out to pick cotton, but after they were out, two of them took it into their heads to go into the bush and look for wild yams; so, at knocking-off time, when all the men were called over, two were short, so we sat down and quietly waited until they made their appearance, when we made them kneel down at our feet, and with a thick stick gave them ten each down the back, something to remember for a time. You know these imported men that we have are cannibals of the very worst class, and must be ruled with a rod of iron, or your life would not be safe. Of course, when you have got them fairly broken in to work, they will be no trouble, but they don't see why they should not do as they like. The Fiji labourers are a very mild lot; one Tanna man would set a score of them over the hills, and would only be too glad to have a chance. By the bye, we have had some great doctoring here, with one Tanna man. One beggar died (£10 gone), and two or three more were bad, so we thought a dose of 'painkiller,' with a good dose of chlorodyne, and then a rattling good shock of the galvanic battery. (No lambdaging.) We pulled the thing out as far as we could, and then turned the handle as fast as possible. You should have seen the niggers twisting and screeching; it has done them good though, the beggars are all at work again with the exception of one. This fellow complains of his head, so I am going to give him a good shock on the nut to-night; this will waken him. Pretty rough doctoring this, you will say; but if you do not give it to them hot and strong, they would all take to their beds, and how would the work be done?"

THE PACIFIC ISLANDERS' PROTECTION BILL.

SEVERAL new clauses have been added to this bill when passing through Committees in Parliament. In one respect the measure has been improved, but in another it has been damaged.

The fourth section of the 16th clause empowers "Any consul or consular agent appointed by Her Majesty to reside in any island not within the jurisdiction of any civilised Power," to detain, seize, and bring in for adjudication any British vessel which shall, upon reasonable grounds, be suspected of being engaged in kidnapping. We should have preferred a consul residing within as well as beyond the jurisdiction of a civilised Power to be authorised to act within the provisions of this law. But the insertion of this clause in its present form we regard as a decided improvement, which will render the bill more effective.

We regret that we cannot look at the eighth clause in the same favourable light. It provides that—

"Nothing herein contained shall be taken to affect the provisions of an Act passed by the Legislature of Queensland, entitled 'An Act to regulate and control the introduction and treatment of Polynesian labourers;' nor of any Act of a like kind passed or which may be passed by the Legislature of any of the Australasian colonies, not being inconsistent with the provisions of this Act: and the provisions of this Act in respect of vessels carrying native labourers without a licence or in contravention of the terms of a licence, shall not apply to any vessel which has complied with the regulations and conditions imposed by the said Queensland Act, or by any other Act of a like kind passed or which may be passed by the Legislature of any of the Australasian colonies as aforesaid, proof of which compliance shall lie upon the master."

The more we consider this clause the more difficult it is to understand how Lord Kimberley could consent to the introduction of so objectionable a provision. It renders the law inoperative so far as Queensland vessels are concerned, and will fail to suppress kidnapping by British vessels which carry Queensland papers. The past conclusively shows how that under the operation of Queensland labour laws natives have been obtained by fraud and force, brought into the colony to labour under contracts the deceived people have in too many cases been perfectly unable to understand, and who, if heathens, and unable to take the oath required by law, have no legal status in the courts either in civil or criminal suits. Instead of exempting these vessels it should have laid them under the same restrictions and exposed them to the same penalties as any other vessels.

We fear that, under the circumstances, the evil which the measure was intended to check will continue to exist, and we must ask our friends in Queensland to watch the working of this law, and to persevere in exposing the misdeeds which may be carried on, perhaps in some new form, but in the same spirit and cruelty as heretofore.

THE INDIANS IN THE MAURITIUS AND THEIR GRIEVANCES.

THE Commission of Inquiry appointed by Governor Gordon has completed its labours, and has published a thick volume of the evidence taken before it, and also its report, which will be found in our present number.

As these documents have only just reached this country, we are not able to make many comments upon them, but we may observe that, in the main, the report bears out the statements contained in the petitions of the Indian immigrants published by M. de Plevitz.

Before the departure of the last mail from the Mauritius the Royal Commissioners had arrived and had opened their commission.

The evidence taken in the first two days is published in the newspapers of the Island. Observing the manner in which the Commission is proceeding, and looking at all the circumstances of the case, we do not feel sanguine that the ends of justice will be promoted by it. The whole affair is an unequal combat. On one side there are the poor who depend for existence on their daily labour and who can ill afford to give up their time and travel, in many cases, great distances in order to attend as witnesses. These are represented by a person whose means will not admit of his employing professional assistance.

On the other side you have a Royal Commission provided with everything, two very able counsel, highly paid, together with the press, the hospitality, and all the influence which the wealth and power of the island can give.

To call upon private individuals who expose public abuses to bear all the expenses of such contests, is, if we mistake not, comparatively a modern system.

We cheerfully give our own Government

credit for good intentions in this matter, but we think that, fairly looked at in all its bearings, the position of the Government as the dispenser of justice is humiliating in the extreme.

REPORT OF THE MAURITIUS POLICE INQUIRY COMMISSION.

SUMMARY OF CONCLUSIONS.

THE OLD IMMIGRANTS' PETITION, AND THE LABOUR LAW OF 1867.

WE have found the statements in the Petition, although put in an exaggerated form, to be mainly justified by the law as it exists under the Ordinance of 1867, and the Executive Regulations following thereon. We have had no reason to doubt that the Petition justly reflects the sentiments of the old immigrant population subject to the law.

Of the eighteen special cases annexed to the Petition we have found more than one unfounded, and several not of a serious nature. But the chief cases we have found proved, and to have involved a great amount of hardship to industrious persons, in consequence of conduct on the part of the police which we have characterised as arbitrary and ill-judged.

The accusation with regard to the use of the rattan in the Immigration Office we found much exaggerated.

We found that the general complaint of the Indians examined before us other than those whose cases were annexed to the Petition, was of the day-labourer's licence, of the operation of the pass, and as to return passages to India, and these complaints we found were well founded.

We have ourselves made an enquiry into the practical operation of the law as that is exhibited by the cases which come day by day before the stipendiary magistrates, and we have had the opportunity of observing how the law was worked out at the Immigration Department, and by the police.

We found that in the Stipendiary Court of Pamplemousses the law had been sometimes misunderstood and hardships in consequence inflicted both on Creole Indians and Old Immigrants.

That in all the Stipendiary Courts the Old Immigrant charged with vagrancy had not been dealt with under the § 46 of the Ordinance 31 of 1867, as contemplated by the framers of that Ordinance, but under the Vagrancy Laws passed anterior to that Ordinance which had not been repealed.

We recommend that the stipendiary magistrates sit every day, Sundays and holidays excepted.

We found that the Immigration Department had become an office for extracting fees from the Old Immigrants, in addition to the ordinary taxation.

That the provisions in the Executive Regulations which have rendered the Ordinance of

1867 much more burdensome on the Old Immigrants had been recommended by a Committee of which the Protector of Immigrants was Chairman in 1869.

That clerks ignorant of the Immigration Law, had most responsible duties confided to them, and disposed of important questions relating to the status of immigrants without reference to the Protector.

That the mode of book-keeping was very loose, under which it was impossible to trace any individual payment by an Old Immigrant.

We recommend that in future no money be paid at the Immigration Department, but that whatever fees are retained should be payable by stamps purchasable at the Treasury.

We found also that the vagrancy branch of the Immigration question had not received due attention, that the Protector was not informed of what was passing in the Stipendiary Courts, and that thus the difference between the provisions of the Law of 1867 with regard to Old Immigrants suspected of vagrancy, and the practice of the stipendiary magistrates, had not been detected.

We found that § 59 of the Ordinance of 1867 providing that Old Immigrants in want of work could repair to the Immigration Depot had not been practically put in force, and taken in connection with the noncompliance with the provisions respecting vagrancy in § 46, that thus the measures intended by the framers of the law to be worked simultaneously with the pass system had not been carried out.

With regard to the police, we found that they carried out their duties, occasionally, with more than an excess of zeal, and we have animadverted on their conduct in connection with Vagrant Hunts, and other instances of an oppressive application of the law, but the subordinates have certainly a justification for their conduct in the General Orders issued by the Inspector-General, which pressed constantly upon the force the duty of arresting vagrants, and of keeping up the numbers arrested.

We believe the exceptional state of affairs in 1867 called for exceptional legislation, and that a labour law of some kind was required. Unfortunately the framer of the law, Mr. Douglas, died immediately after it was put in operation, and we think the Executive Regulations afterwards enacted altered the aim and scope of the measure as it originally stood.

AMENDMENTS OF THE LAW SUGGESTED

After careful consideration of the working of the Ordinance and the Regulations, we suggest the following alterations of the law:—

The repeal of § 48 of Ordinance 31 of 1867 and of Regulations 44 and 45, which prevent the free locomotion of the Old Immigrants.

The repeal of § 55, which permits Officers and Constables of Police to enter the Immigrant's hut at any time of the day or night, to ascertain whether his papers are *en règle*.

We think that the portrait now attached to the ticket ought not to be a matter of legal obligation on the Old Immigrant.

We recommend the repeal of Regulation 58, which imposes a penalty for not exhibiting ticket on demand

We are of opinion that the existing system for obtaining a duplicate ticket is objectionable, especially the charge of £1 for the ticket, 5s. for a permit to work, and 2s. for the photograph. That Regulation 70 and relative tariff ought to be repealed, and that the Immigrants ought to obtain duplicates without many of the formalities and journeys which are now required.

We suggest that the following fees be abolished—viz., on passports, certificates of marriage, all certificates now paid for, and written orders of all kinds for searches in books.

The licence-duty of £1 imposed upon day-labourers by Regulation 56 and relative tariff, ought at once to be abolished, together with the penalties in Regulations 57 and 59.

We suggest that the police pass be in the meantime retained as a means of distinguishing the Old Immigrant working on his own account from an engaged labourer, or a vagrant, but that it be given on the declaration required by § 43 of the Ordinance, without the restrictions imposed by Regulation 41, which requires the police pass clerk to satisfy himself of the truth of the declaration, thus occasioning much delay and annoyance to the Immigrant.

We think the time (eight days) allowed by the Ordinance for an Old Immigrant obtaining a new engagement, or setting himself up in a new industry, ought to be extended; but we recommend the repeal of Regulation 42, which gives seven days additional, because of the penalties which are added, and which are unauthorised by the Ordinance.

We do not think any notice to the police necessary on a change of occupation, or a change of residence within a district. This involves the repeal of Regulation 43 with its penalties; and Regulation 44 with its heavy penalty for not notifying to the police a change of residence from one district to another requires modification.

Persons holding licences ought not to be required to take out a police pass.

We recommend that only designated Officers and Constables of Police acquainted with the languages of the passes, be authorised or permitted to demand their production.

Duplicate and new passes ought to be issued free as well as the originals.

We are of opinion that the Immigrant suspected of vagrancy ought to be dealt with under § 46 of the Ordinance 31 of 1867 on the system evidently intended by the framer of the law, and Regulation 63 referring thereto ought to be retained.

And that with a view to prevent cases of confirmed vagrancy, we recommend that a return passage to India be given after a residence of five years, in addition to the industrial service.

We respectfully submit this our Report to your Excellency's consideration.

4th April, 1872.

(Signed) E. SELBY SMITH, Major-Gen.
JOHN GORRIE.
F. T. BLUNT, Captain,
Acting Inspector-Gen.
J. A. ROBERTSON.

—Port Louis Commercial Observer.

SLAVERS CAPTURED ON THE EAST COAST OF AFRICA.

PARLIAMENTARY RETURN FROM JULY 1, 1869, TO DECEMBER 31, 1871.

A RETURN has been printed by order of the House of Commons, showing the number of vessels captured on the EAST COAST OF AFRICA, for being engaged in and equipped for the slave-trade; the number of slaves captured and the number emancipated, with other particulars, between July 1, 1869, and December 31, 1871, a period of two years and a half.

From this return it appears that there were captured—

In 1869, from July 1 to Dec. 31	1 slaver.
„ 1870	3 slavers.
„ 1871	20 „

Total 24

The BULLFINCH captured 1; the TEAZER, 3; the DRYAD, 2; the NYMPHE, 2; the MAGPIE, 3; the WOLVERINE, 6; and the COLUMBINE, 7. Of these slavers twenty-one were taken to Zanzibar, and three to Muscat, for adjudication. In two instances vessels not having slaves on board were seized; in five cases the slaves escaped, no doubt by the pursued craft being run ashore, and all the slaves being removed inland; in seventeen cases vessels were taken having on board from 268 slaves to 1. The total number of slaves captured was 722; but of these 297 were restored, owing to their having been shipped for conveyance to Zanzibar within the prescribed period, and to other causes. Only 425 of the number actually taken were emancipated.

When it is remembered that during this period of two years and a half over 60,000 slaves were conveyed along the coast in dhows, many of which can carry only a comparatively few persons, one cannot but be impressed with the impunity with which the slave-trade is carried on, and the inefficiency of the squadron in suppressing the traffic.

THE BIRMINGHAM LADIES' NEGRO'S FRIEND SOCIETY.

THE forty-seventh annual meeting of the Birmingham Ladies' Negro's Friend Society was held on Friday morning, April 26, 1872, at Mr. Joseph Sturge's, 103, Wheeley Road. The Rev. Dr. Williams presided, and the Rev. Messrs. Horace Waller, M.A., and B. Millard attended as a deputation. The attendance, chiefly of ladies, was very large.

The CHAIRMAN, in opening the meeting, expressed his cordial sympathy with the anti-slavery movement, and his utter abhorrence of the slave-trade. Mrs. Edmund

STURGE read the report of the Committee, which entered into details of the slave-trade and slavery in various parts of the world. It stated, that whilst striving to suppress slavery, the Society directed its attention to the elevation and education of the emancipated, and had made grants during the past year to twenty missionaries in Jamaica, Antigua, and Trinidad, to meet the educational wants of their people. The income of the Society had been increased by donations, amongst others one of £10 from Lady Buxton in consequence of receiving a report from a friend.

The Rev. H. WALLER, of Leytonstone, addressed the meeting on the East African slave-trade. He dwelt on the fearful havoc of human life in this trade, and created a deep sensation by the relation of a number of facts from his personal experience and observation while in Africa, and concluded by moving the adoption, printing, and circulation of the report.

Mr. BARTLETT, in a few words expressive of the obligations of the meeting to Mr. Waller for having put them in possession of facts of which many were ignorant, seconded the motion, which was unanimously carried.

The Rev. B. MILLARD addressed the meeting on the Polynesian slave traffic, and moved that a petition to the Houses of Lords and Commons, praying for the suppression of the man traffic in the Polynesian Islands, be adopted and signed by the chairman of the meeting and the officers of the Society. This was seconded in a few earnest sentences by the Rev. J. J. Brown, and unanimously adopted. The spirit of the meeting was very good, and the results cannot but be gratifying.

SUBSCRIPTIONS AND DONATIONS

RECEIVED SINCE OUR LAST.

Alexander, Sarah Ann, Reigate	...	...	...	(sub.)	£1	1	0
Alexander, M. B., Reigate	...	...	...	„	1	1	0
Allen, William, Winchmore Hill	...	...	...	„	2	2	0
Allen, Stafford, Stoke Newington	...	...	...	„	2	2	0
Ashby, Frederic, Staines	...	...	...	„	2	2	0
Austin, Mr. W. H., Teignmouth	...	...	...	„	1	5	0
Backhouse, Edward, Esq., Sunderland	...	...	...	„	10	0	0
Baker, Joseph, North Shields	...	...	...	„	0	10	0
Ball, William, Esq., Tottenham	...	...	...	„	0	10	0
Bell, The Misses, Alton	...	...	...	„	1	0	0
Bell, Sheppard, Alton (2 years)	...	...	...	„	2	0	0
Bewley, Samuel, Dublin	...	...	...	„	1	0	0
Binns, Henry, Croydon	...	...	...	„	0	10	6
Boam, Henry, Derby	...	...	...	„	0	10	0
Boys, Jacob, Esq., Brighton	...	...	...	„	1	1	0

Bottomley, John, Birmingham (2 years) ... (sub.)	2	0	0	Mordy, John, Workington (don.)	0	10	6
Brady, Hannah, York ... "	0	10	0	Norton, William, Reigate ... "	1	0	0
Braithwaite, C. L., Kendal ... "	1	1	0	Norris, W. G., Coalbrook Dale ... "	0	5	0
Brown, Francis, Brighton ... "	1	1	0	Norris, William, ditto ... "	0	5	0
Brown, Henry, Esq., Bradford ... "	1	1	0	Odger, W. C., Helston ... "	1	5	0
Brown, W. W., Evesham ... "	0	10	0	Palmer, George, Reading ... "	2	2	0
Burt, Jonathan, near York ... "	1	0	0	Palk, Edward, Esq., South- ampton ... "	0	10	6
Burchett, J. R., Esq., London ... "	2	2	0	Pease, Joseph, Executors of the late ... "	100	0	0
Burlingham, Henry, Evesham ... "	0	10	0	Pease, John B., Esq., Darling- ton ... "	1	0	0
Cadbury, John, Esq., Birming- ham ... "	1	0	0	Pim, Jonathan, Esq., M.P., Dublin ... "	1	1	0
Cadbury, Benjamin H., Esq., Birmingham ... "	1	0	0	Polynesia, for ... "	20	0	0
Camps, Henry, Esq., Bristol (don.)	2	2	0	Prideaux, E. B., Brighton ... "	0	4	0
Cash, William, Croydon ... (sub.)	1	0	0	Proctor, Joseph, Newcastle ... "	1	0	0
Chalkley, H. G., Tottenham ... "	0	10	0	Pumphrey, C. and S. B., Birmingham ... "	2	2	0
Charleton, Robert, Esq., Bris- tol ... "	5	5	0	Renton, Rev. Henry, Kelso, N.B. ... "	0	10	0
Clark, James, Street ... "	0	10	0	Richardson, Miss Jane, New- castle-on-Tyne ... (sub.)	0	10	0
Cooke, Isaac B., Liverpool ... "	0	10	0	Robson, Isaac, Huddersfield ... "	1	0	0
Cirencester Auxiliary, per Thomas Brewin ... "	8	0	0	Rosling, Samuel, Reading ... "	1	1	0
Crowley, Alfred, Croydon ... "	1	1	0	Rowntree, William, Scar- borough ... "	1	0	0
Crowley, Frederic, Alton ... "	1	1	0	Sanders, M., Esq., Clifton ... "	1	0	0
Dickinson, Rev. William, near King's Lynn ... "	1	1	0	Schoelcher, V., Chelsea ... "	1	0	0
Dunlop, John, Esq., Edinburgh ... "	1	0	0	Shephard, Holman, York ... "	0	10	0
Edwards, Miss, Denmark Hill ... "	1	1	0	Smithies, Thomas B., London ... "	1	1	0
Evesham Ladies' Anti-Slavery Society, per John Pumphrey ... "	1	0	0	Smith, G. Maria, Highbury (don.)	5	0	0
Fawcus, Margaret, North Shields ... "	0	10	0	Snowdon, Ann, Birmingham (sub.)	1	0	0
Ferguson, Robert, Esq., near Carlisle ... "	1	1	0	Southall, Ann, Leominster ... "	1	0	0
Fisher, Jane, Swansea ... "	0	2	6	Spence, Jemima, York ... "	0	10	0
Forster, Rachel, Tottenham ... "	3	3	0	Sterry, Jane, Brighton ... "	3	3	0
Forster, Robert, ditto ... "	1	1	0	Swan, Mrs., Edinburgh ... "	0	5	0
Fothergill, Miss M., Hensol Castle ... "	2	0	0	Tregelles, Edwin O., Shotley Bridge ... "	0	10	0
Fox, Alfred Lloyd, Esq., Fal- mouth (3 years) ... "	3	3	0	Trevellyan, A. (J.P.), Tyne- holme, N.B. ... "	5	0	0
Fry, Edward, Highgate ... "	1	0	0	Walker, Joseph, Birstwith ... "	0	10	0
Glaisyer, John H., Holloway (2 years) ... "	1	0	0	Waterhouse, Alfred, Reading (don.)	5	0	0
Hack, Daniel P., Brighton ... "	1	0	0	Whitehouse, Rev. J. O., London (sub.)	0	10	0
Hack, Daniel P., ditto ... (don.)	1	0	0	Wheeler, Frederic, Rochester ... "	1	0	0
Harris, Lydia, Peckham ... (sub.)	1	1	0	Whiting, John, Leeds ... "	1	1	0
Haughton, James, Dublin ... "	0	10	0	Wilson, Thomas, Thornton- in-Craven ... "	3	3	0
Haynes, Rev. C. E., Goole ... "	0	4	0	OMITTED LAST QUARTER.			
Hopkins, Jonathan, Spalding ... "	0	10	0	Stephens, Mrs., Hillside, Bridport ... (don.)	10	0	0
How, Walter, Blackheath ... "	0	5	0	Ditto, ditto, for Reporter ... "	0	5	0
Husband, William, Barbadoes ... "	0	10	6	Stephenson, Ann, near Exeter (sub.)	1	0	0
Hutchinson, Robert, Exeter ... "	0	4	0	CONTRIBUTIONS FOR THE PHILLIPS FUND.			
Jesper, Joseph, Preston ... "	1	1	0	Fox, F. E. ... "	2	2	0
Jones, Rev. Thomas, Black- heath ... "	0	10	0	Hack, D. P. ... "	3	0	0
Jones, Mrs., Baschurch Vicar- age ... "	1	1	0	Trevellyan, A. R., Esq. ... "	2	0	0
Kenway, James, Neath ... "	0	10	0	Tregelles, E. O. ... "	0	10	0
King, Samuel, Birmingham ... "	1	0	0	Warton, W. H. ... "	2	2	0
Lean, William S., Ackworth ... "	0	10	0	CONTRIBUTIONS FOR CUBAN EXILES IN JAMAICA.			
Lewis, Samuel, Islington ... "	1	1	0	Dillwyn, Mrs. ... "	1	1	0
Mason, Sarah, York ... "	1	0	0	Gibbins, Mrs. Sarah ... "	20	0	0
McMichael, N., Professor, Dunfermline ... "	1	0	0	Hack, D. P. ... "	2	0	0
Moilliet, Mr. C. E., Redditch (don.)	1	1	0	Trevellyan, A. R., Esq. ... "	2	0	0
Moilliet, Mr. F. A. ditto ... "	1	1	0				
Moilliet, Mr. C. T. ditto ... "	1	1	0				

An Abstract of the Proceedings
OF THE
BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY
To DECEMBER 31, 1871.

THE Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society avail themselves of the present time to request, from their friends and supporters, the continuance of that confidence they have so long reposed in them, with respect to the faithful discharge of the work committed to their hands.

In omitting to render any formal accounts of their stewardship for a lengthened period, the Committee feel that they have presumed on the confidence of their friends; but they believe at the same time that this omission has been justified by the nature and amount of the work before them, and the magnitude of its issues. In fact the Committee, diminished as it has been by the decease of so many of its most experienced and effective members in the face of the continued pressure of work, found that they could better apply the time, strength, and funds at their command, than in the somewhat costly, though needed accompaniment of anniversary meetings.

They now present an account of their income and expenditure for 1870 and 1871. The particulars of their proceedings have been furnished periodically in the *Anti-Slavery Reporter* to their friends and subscribers; the Committee will now only recapitulate the more prominent subjects gathered from the records of nearly a thousand minutes of proceedings on which they have been engaged.

THE SLAVE-TRADE.

East Africa.—In 1865 the Slave-trade on the West Coast of Africa is happily at length extinguished, but the evil has been removed to the Eastern Coast of that Continent, between the dominions of Zanzibar on the one hand, and the coast of Arabia, Persia and Mozambique Channel on the other hand; the principal, and by far the largest, portion of the traffic being in the former direction. The average annual export of slaves from Kilwa alone is 20,000, and numbers are shipped from other places on the coast. Such is the

fearful loss of life resulting from this traffic, such the miseries which attend it, that not one in five, in some cases not one in ten, of the victims of the slave-hunters ever reaches the coast alive. It is calculated that over 200,000 men, women, and children are every year destroyed in the slave-hunts, and vast tracts of land are devastated and depopulated.

The Committee have been unceasing in their efforts to suppress this fearful traffic. In 1866 they presented an address to Lord Stanley, setting forth the nature and extent of the trade. During the year the subject continued to occupy their attention. In 1867 the Zanzibar Slave-traffic was brought before Parliament. In 1868 the Committee appealed to Lord Stanley, and again to Lord Clarendon in 1869, who appointed a committee of certain Government officials to make inquiries respecting the trade complained of. In 1871, at the instance of this Committee, a motion was brought forward in Parliament by C. Gilpin, Esq., and a Select Committee was appointed by the House of Commons to inquire into the whole question, and the possibility of putting an end entirely to the trade in slaves by sea. The report, with very valuable evidence and various recommendations, was laid before the House and published in a Blue-book. It is gratifying to learn from Lord Enfield that the English Government has invited the co-operation of the Governments of Germany, France, America, and Portugal to suppress this traffic, so fearful in its character and results. As yet, however, the evil still exists, and it will require all the energy and efforts of this Society, backed by the moral influence and aid of the friends of humanity, to put an end to this trade.

The White Nile Trade.—Till lately it was calculated that annually about 5,000 human beings were enslaved, to secure whom 20,000, or more, lives were sacrificed. The Committee have memorialised the Sultan of Turkey on both Slavery and the

Slave-trade; they have also addressed the Viceroy of Egypt on the subject, who admitted that, though the trade had been carried on for more than 1,280 years, and was mixed up with the religion of the people, "it was a horrible institution." It remains to be seen whether Sir Samuel H. Baker's undertaking and action at Gondokoro have merely checked the trade for a time, or whether it will lead to its permanent suppression.

The Levant Slave-trade demands the earnest vigilance of the friends of humanity. Slaves are constantly being conveyed from Tripoli and other places in vessels (sometimes British) to Malta for trans-shipment to Turkish ports. The Committee continue to watch the system, and to use their efforts to check it. To a question put by Mr. Gilpin, at the request of this Committee, Lord Enfield assured the House of Commons that the English consuls exercise a vigilant supervision over this Slave-trade; and their representations have succeeded in procuring the release of hundreds of slaves.

The Polynesian Kidnapping has for years given the Committee much alarm and trouble. The system of seeking native labourers in the South Sea Islands for Queensland plantations commenced in 1863. Though at first the mode of proceeding was perhaps unobjectionable, reckless characters soon entered on the trade, who resorted to fraud or force to obtain so-called emigrants, and the results were piracy, kidnapping, and murder. Large numbers of vessels, known as "labour vessels," go chiefly to groups of islands which are yet heathen, and where missionaries do not reside, whence they procure natives, whom they carry to Queensland, Fiji, and Tahiti, to work cotton and sugar plantations. So soon as the Committee were informed of the unlawful means resorted to in order to entrap the natives, they took measures to call public attention to the subject, and appealed to the Government to nip the evil in the bud. In 1867, the Committee published a letter from Dr. Turner, a missionary in Samoa. In 1868, they memorialised the Duke of Buckingham, and appointed a Special Committee to give attention to this matter. In 1868 and 1869 they continued to address the Government, showing the crimes which were being perpetrated by Englishmen in English vessels. Anxious to obtain further and the most reliable information respecting the misnamed system of emigration, they sent letters of inquiry to the missionaries of the various Societies labouring in Polynesia, and solicited the American Administration to collect information, with a view to suppress the

nefarious practices carried on. The Committee have had frequent correspondence with gentlemen in Queensland and elsewhere, and have continued to move the Government to adopt such Imperial legislative measures as should suppress the new Slave-trade. They rejoice to see that the public mind has been aroused, and that at last the Government has taken action and submitted a bill to Parliament which is conceived in a liberal spirit, and though designed to put an end to the outrages committed we fear will prove inadequate. It is also to be feared that, unless the British Government exercises a protectorate over the Fijian group, or some means be adopted to render the law operative in that range of islands, it will check the system in one quarter, to be carried on with greater vigour in another direction.

The Chinese Slave-trade.—In common with the respected co-workers of a kindred institution, the Committee mourn that the traffic in man—formerly mostly confined to the African—has now been extended to the Chinese race. And battle has to be done against the Asiatic as well as the African slave-trade. Under the name of emigration, the Portuguese kidnap annually from Macao from 15,000 to 20,000 Chinese to the Chincha Islands, Peru, and Cuba. The system of kidnapping, and the horrors of the middle passage, rival in cruelty the West African slave-trade; while those who survive the voyage have to endure miseries in many cases even worse than the African slave. The Committee of this Society has directed its attention to this painful subject, and will have to put forth its earnest efforts to procure the discontinuance of this vile system. It is, however, due to the British Government to state that no Chinese coolies can be taken from Treaty ports in British vessels except to places over which it has some control.

SLAVERY.

Cuba and Porto Rico.—It was hoped that long before this the Spanish people would have followed the example set by other nations, by removing the stain of Slavery from her Colonial dependencies in the West Indies. The Committee regret to record that, notwithstanding the appeals made to the Government of Spain by the friends of humanity in Great Britain, France, and America; and also the encouraging illustrations of the good results of emancipation presented to her, Spain still upholds slavery. In Cuba there are more than 350,000 slaves, as well as 50,000 Chinese who are imported as immigrants, but who in reality are slaves; and in Porto Rico there are 30,000 bondsmen.

The Committee have been unceasing in their efforts, both in private and in public, and have spent much time and attention in seeking to induce the Spanish Government to fulfil its Treaty obligations of 1821 and 1835, under which nearly every slave now in Cuba is legally entitled to his liberty. It would occupy too much time to enter into minute details of action. They may, however, briefly state that they have, by deputations and by memorials, repeatedly urged upon successive British administrations to use their influence with the Madrid Government to abolish slavery; they have sent addresses to Queen Isabella, to the Provisional Government of 1868, to King Amadeus I. on his assumption of the sovereignty of Spain, urging the duty of immediate emancipation. They have been in constant correspondence with gentlemen of position, and have employed a variety of other means to influence the Spanish nation to proclaim immediate and unconditional liberty in all her colonies.

The pro-Slavery party in Spain, which has always been influential and powerful, is determined to maintain "the peculiar institution"; yet there is incontestable evidence that, through the efforts of this Society, the anti-slavery sentiment in that country has been widening and deepening; and though the repeated revolutionary movements seem at times to throw back the cause of freedom, yet there is reason to believe it is advancing. As illustrations, they may instance the formation of the Spanish Abolitionist Society in 1865—which, amidst many difficulties, has laboured indefatigably in the cause of emancipation. Early in 1866, General O'Donnell declared himself in favour of the abolition of the slave-trade, and Queen Isabella signed a decree to abolish the trade and to liberate the emancipados. Before 1864 not a single Spanish newspaper had spoken in favour of liberty, but in 1866 upwards of eighty-five papers had ranged themselves on the side of emancipation. Insurrectionary movements in various places gave the Government a pretext to suppress the larger number of these papers—but they did a good work, and public meetings in numerous towns have been held to promote the good cause. When the revolutionary Government of 1868 was established it was hoped that it would follow the noble example of France in 1848, and proclaim immediate emancipation. The Committee most promptly used their influence and resources to induce it to adopt this course, but the Government wavered and failed. It is believed by some that a word at this critical moment from our Foreign Office to the Provisional Government would have secured the abolition of

Slavery, and have prevented the war in Cuba. But the British Government never thinks the right time come for the exercise of its moral influence with Spain. Meanwhile a revolution broke out in Cuba, and, among other measures, the revolutionary Government in Cuba decreed immediate emancipation, and, if successful in their movements, would no doubt be true to their profession of love of liberty. The pro-Slavery party, however, it is believed, could bring the civil war to an end by declaring "liberty" to all slaves. Instead of doing this, however, they adduce the existing state of things as a plea for upholding the system; and for nearly four years there have been scenes of arson, murder, and war of the most terrible character, and upwards of 100,000 lives have been sacrificed in the struggle, which still continues. Meanwhile, in the mother country it was felt that some action must be taken in the matter—and in May, 1870, a project of law was proposed in the Cortes, declaring that all children born of slave mothers, after the publication of the law, should be free. Señor Castellar, in a speech of extraordinary power and brilliancy, proposed immediate emancipation, but the proposition was rejected by seventy-eight against forty-eight votes, and the original motion was carried. This law, which has been two years before the Council of State in Madrid, is a dead letter in Cuba, and were it acted upon would still leave the 350,000 slaves in bondage; and the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society have to continue their work till these are entirely liberated.

Brazilian Slavery has engaged the thoughtful consideration of the Committee. They have endeavoured to influence public opinion in Brazil by interviews with various persons, by correspondence and memorials to the Count d'Eu and the Emperor of Brazil on their visit to this country, and to the Council of State in Rio. In September, 1871, a law was passed by the Brazilian Legislature, declaring free all children born of slave mothers after that period, and also certain slaves belonging to the nation. The Act, however, leaves the 1,500,000 human beings in bondage; and the freedom of those born after September, 1871, is illusory, at least during the first twenty-one years of life, during which they will be, under the restrictive clauses of the law, deprived of their personal liberty, and kept under the power and authority of their masters. This state of things is revolting to the friends of liberty, and the Committee feel themselves called upon to continue to seek the entire and immediate emancipation of these million and a half of slaves.

Madagascar.—From the evidence before the Select Committee on the East African Slave-trade, part of which was printed in the *Anti-Slavery Reporter*, it appears that the traffic in human beings there is still carried on; and from other sources it is known that domestic slavery prevails throughout this island. The Committee submitted their views on this question to the Madagascar Government in 1869.

They rejoice to learn that this subject is awakening the attention of members of native Christian churches, and they will be thankful to see the influence of religion exerting itself by bringing about emancipation generally throughout this interesting island.

The Committee have had their attention painfully directed to the condition of the East Indian immigrants in the Mauritius, who have set forth their grievances in a petition to the Governor, Sir Arthur Hamilton Gordon, K.C.M.G., which has been sustained with important observations by Mr. Adolphe de Plevitz. A Commission of Inquiry in the island has been appointed by the Governor, which, after taking a mass of evidence, has made a report which to a large extent establishes the case of the immigrants. A Commission has also been sent out by the Government to inquire into the allegations in the petition.

The Committee united with the Aborigines Protection Society in sending a barrister to watch the inquiry conducted by the Commissioners appointed by the Government into statements of M. Des Vœux respecting the ill-treatment and wrongs done to the coolie immigrants in British Guiana. Although M. Des Vœux had to encounter most serious difficulties in securing the evidence necessary to establish his case, it has been decided that the law and system of immigration required revision, and the Committee learn that the Govern-

ment have instructed one of the Commissioners to frame an ordinance in order to remove the evils proved to be in operation.

M. Des Vœux is entitled to the warm thanks of the community at large for the noble stand he has made against the cruelty and injustice practised upon the Coolies of Demerara.

Jamaica.—The Committee rejoice to know that under the enlightened administration of Sir John Peter Grant this island is enjoying increasing prosperity. The record of correspondence, meetings, deputations to Government, and other multifarious labours during 1865 and 1866, would be very voluminous, and now may be unnecessary. The review of the labours involved is, however, satisfactory, and the results have been most gratifying.

The range of work carried on by this Society has been great, and the friends of liberty cannot but be thankful for the results of past efforts, as seen in the countries and colonies where slavery has been abolished. But the spirit of cupidity still stimulates men as intensely as ever, and leads to the commission of deeds of violence and oppression towards the dark races most revolting in their character and wide in their extent. Instead of the Committee being relieved, as they hoped, from their work, it continues to demand their unwearying vigilance and efforts. It has been discouraging to them to see not only a decrease of the old English anti-slavery spirit, but the existence of a pro-slavery sentiment, especially among the more enterprising classes. Glad will they be to witness the rekindling of the true anti-slavery feeling in every class in society, which might lead to such action as, under the Divine blessing, would hasten the day when every human being shall enjoy the birthright of liberty.

Dr.

Cash Statement of the Anti-Slavery Society for 1870.

Cr.

To	INCOME.		BY	EXPENDITURE.	
		£ s. d.			£ s. d.
Balance at Bankers	...	378 13 9	Printing "Reporter," &c., Watts .	69 1 9	
Donations	...	417 8 0	Premises, Office Expenses, Coals,		
Subscriptions	...	747 12 10	Gas, Painting, and addition to		
Rent	...	131 5 0	Fittings	40 17 10	
Sale of Waste Paper	...	4 15 0	Returned Property Tax	1 10 8	
Income Tax Returns	...	3 2 6	Wertheimer and Kitto, Printing...	6 6 5	
Sale of "Reporter"	...	0 9 0	Small Bills	15 3 8	
Cash, Stamps, &c., on hand	...	20 6 11	Petty Salaries	52 0 0	
			Postage, Parcels, Carriage, and		
			small Office Expenses	107 17 7	
			Poor-rates, Police, Water, and		
			Tithe	37 5 8	
			Salary, L. A. Chamerovzow	175 0 0	
			Rent	150 0 0	
			Salary to T. Phillips	115 10 0	
			Waterlow, for Stationery...	8 18 5	
			Dickinson, for Paper, "Reporter"	27 14 2	
			Grants to Queensland	45 0 0	
			For Berlioux's work in French	8 0 0	
			Demerara Committee	100 0 0	
			P. A. Taylor, Esq., Printing	17 10 0	
			Hamilton, for Reporting	10 10 0	
			Law Expenses	7 15 4	
			White, for Binding	1 12 6	
			Balance at Bankers	705 19 0	
		<u>£1,703 13 0</u>		<u>£1,703 13 0</u>	

Dr.

Cash Statement of the Anti-Slavery Society for 1871.

Cr.

To	INCOME.		BY	EXPENDITURE.	
		£ s. d.			£ s. d.
Balance at Bankers	...	705 19 0	Dickinson, Paper for "Reporter" ..	25 18 0	
Subscriptions	...	509 14 10	Advances made to Messrs. Hunter	10 0 0	
Donations	...	179 4 5	On account of Demerara Commis-		
Rents received, 1871	...	226 5 0	sion	100 0 0	
Bank Interest on Deposit...	...	5 9 0	Grant on account of ditto to Abori-		
Sale of Waste Paper	...	1 11 9	gines Protection Society	50 0 0	
Petty Cash on hand, Stamps, &c...	...	8 19 9	Hamilton, for Reporting	10 10 0	
			Judge Beaumont on account of		
			Pamphlet	15 0 0	
			Sundries for Newspapers, Blue-		
			books, Copying, &c.	29 12 0	
			For Kelly's Return Voyage to		
			Jamaica	5 0 0	
			Poor, Water, Consolidated, and		
			other Rates	38 4 10	
			Donation to Mrs. Phillips, Widow		
			of late Secretary	50 0 0	
			Salaries—£133 and £52	185 0 0	
			House Cleaning, Painting Office,		
			charges and additions to Fix-		
			tures, returned Income Tax, &c.	77 6 0	
			Small Stationery, Postage, Porter-		
			age, Carriage, Home and Foreign	83 3 3	
			Rent to City, 1871	150 0 0	
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REPORT OF A PUBLIC MEETING

HELD IN THE

Friends' Meeting-House, Bishopsgate Street,

WEDNESDAY, MAY 29TH, 1872.

CHARLES GILPIN, Esq., M.P., IN THE CHAIR.

The CHAIRMAN : I need scarcely say that the object of our meeting to-night is to revive again or keep alive the interest which this Society has felt, from the time of its commencement, in the abolition of negro slavery, and in the freedom of the human race. From our earliest records the Society of Friends have been earnest in this matter. We many of us remember, and remember with reverence, the names of a Joseph Eaton and a Joseph Sturge, and many others of their day. We turn a little farther back in the pages of our particular history, and come upon John Woolmar and Anthony Benezet, now gathered to their fathers, but who were earnest and successful advocates of the abolition of slavery. Now I can easily suppose that the comment of many upon a meeting like this will be, "Why are we again called together upon this subject, which we thought was to a great extent settled?" I will tell you why in a few words ; because notwithstanding the efforts to which I have alluded, notwithstanding the sacrifices of the British Parliament, notwithstanding the sympathies of the English people, notwithstanding the great act of abolition carried into effect by our mighty cousins across the Atlantic, slavery and the slave-trade are now, in my opinion, as rampant as ever it was in the days of Clarkson and Wilberforce, and there is as much call as ever there was that those who hold their fealty to the principles of freedom should speak out, and in a tone to be heard, as to their determination that this system shall be put an end to. We shall hear from my honoured friend on my right, Sir Bartle Frere, much information upon this subject ; we shall hear from a gentleman who has spent a great deal of time on the Eastern Coast of Africa his experience of the slave-trade there ; and we shall have the opportunity of hearing from a missionary who was for some years with Theodore, the late King

of Abyssinia, what is his experience of slavery and the slave-trade. I do not so far misunderstand the duties of a chairman as to do more than simply introduce these gentlemen, one after another, to address you, but I want that there should be no misunderstanding upon this point. The slave-trade, in all its enormity, is in existence now, and the influence of every constituency is needful to bear upon the Members of Parliament to induce them to look this subject in the face, and to do their best to bring about a searching reform in this matter. Now, we shall hear of slavery in the East, we shall hear of it in Cuba I have no doubt, and we shall hear of it amongst the Polynesian Islands ; and in all these places England has its influence, and that influence must be brought to bear in the direction with which the name of England has so long and so honourably been connected. I believe that we have it in our power to do very much. I believe that we have on both sides in the House of Commons men earnest and hearty in the cause, and I trust that this meeting will be the putting of a spark to a fire already prepared to be set light to, and that we shall find that the light kindled upon this occasion will know no putting out until the objects of this and similar meetings are accomplished. I beg to call upon Mr. Edmund Sturge to read a short statement to the meeting, after which I will ask Sir Bartle Frere to address you.

Mr. EDMUND STURGE : Our kind Chairman is under a little mistake. We were not intending this evening to occupy the attention of the meeting by reading a statement. I believe it has been extensively circulated at the doors, and we shall have valuable information before us, which will be much more interesting to the company who are present. But I think it is due to our visitors, who have been so kind as to be present on this occasion, to explain

very shortly the relations of this Society, not as connected with this subject as merely a philanthropic measure, but as connected with it as one of the labours which they consider a part of their commission as a Church on earth. Towards the close of the seventeenth century there was in this Society a considerable amount of missionary fervour, and some of our preachers visited the West Indies and other parts of the world. At the close of that century this missionary zeal to a great extent subsided, but we find in its place on the records of our Society, beginning with the year 1727, continuing to the time of the abolition in the West Indies, that our Church was earnestly engaged as a part of its Christian work in promoting the abolition of the slave-trade and of slavery. There seemed to be a degree of propriety in this. When the name of Christ was blasphemed upon every shore through the extension of the slave-trade, and when, to use the words of the prophet, Christian nations "gathered them in their drag, and emptied their net, and spared not continually to slay the nations," it seemed altogether out of the question to send into those countries the Gospel of peace. For more than a century our Society was conspicuous by the absence of any kind of what is usually termed missionary labour. During the past few years, however, since this question to a certain extent has been assumed to be settled, we have been gratified by seeing a large amount of Christian and missionary enterprise among the younger members of our body, and some of us who have traced this question from an early period, have felt some anxiety lest the whole zeal of the body should be turned too exclusively in that direction, and we ask our friends who will address us to-night to impress upon us, what I am sure will be their convictions, that a part of that zeal should still be devoted, in prayer and in work, to remove from all lands this "abomination which maketh desolate," that so the tree may be planted "whose leaves are for the healing of nations."

Sir BARTLE FRERE: Mr. Chairman, my friends, when Mr. Sturge desired that I would attend this evening and tell you what he had heard me say on a previous occasion, I asked him what were the points particularly to which he desired that I should direct your attention, and he told me that he thought I could not do better than repeat to you what I had said in his presence on a former occasion. I am afraid, as I had no notes of what I then said, that I may not be able to follow exactly the same train of thought, but, as far as I can, I will lay before you the facts which I then stated, and they are, briefly, these:—I told

him that when, after an absence of more than thirty years—not continuous, but almost continuous—from this country, I returned here, there were a great many changes which struck me very forcibly in the public feeling of my countrymen, and among them there was a great change on the subject of the slave-trade. I am old enough to remember the days, and, in some cases, the faces and the forms, of those to whom your Chairman has alluded. I have seen and heard Mrs. Fry, and I have been taken to see Wilberforce and a great many others whose names are connected with the early movements of the Anti-Slavery Society; and I was very curious to know why it was that the objects to which their lives and their exertions were devoted seemed no longer to occupy a prominent place among their successors. I had seen in the East, where the greater part of my life had been spent, a great system of slavery grow up before our eyes, and, in many cases, in positions where it might be said to be almost protected by the indifference of the English nation. For many years before I left India this subject had engaged the anxious attention of the Indian Government, and especially of that part of the Indian Government to which I was attached, in the west of India, because, from the days of Solomon, and possibly from long before that, there had been a continuous and active trade always going on between Western India and Eastern Africa, and the two countries had been connected commercially long before Englishmen appeared on those shores. To this day they are so connected, and connected in a great degree by merchants, some of whom are British subjects, many of them using British capital, and all pursuing their avocations more or less under the protection of the English flag. On that eastern coast of Africa, as commerce and prosperity increased, so had grown up a hideous slave-trade. Probably it had always existed to some extent, more or less; for there is one thing that struck me very much in thinking of this subject, and that is, that it is a great mistake to suppose that slavery is a crime of any one age or of any one nation. I am afraid it is a crime which, like other crimes, may be attributed to man in his natural and unregenerated state; and wherever there is no true religion, there you will find more or less tendency in one man to make a slave of his brother. As far as my knowledge goes, it is only where the Christian religion has extended and shed its influence that you find an end put to slavery and the desire to make slaves. Well, here was this anomaly always present; but no doubt, within the last forty years, there had been an immense increase in the hearty, earnest

desire of Englishmen to christianise the whole world. The good seed which was sown by your predecessors in so many societies, in so many churches, of Europe, is now bearing abundant fruit, and wherever you go, in whatever way it may be—often in a very mistaken way, but always in a more or less sincere way—you see a desire to christianise the world. Yet I saw that this had not availed to check the growth of the slave-trade which had grown up between Eastern Africa and other countries with which Eastern Africa is commercially connected. We used often to write home from India and state what we found. The facts of that slave-trade are not dependent upon the statements of individual travellers, though some of them, like my friend Mr. Waller here, will be able to picture to you, better than any one who has not seen them, the horrors of the slave-trade; but you had the most careful investigation, official and public, of the facts, and there was no doubt that this great slave-trade had grown up almost since the time when you began to put it down on the Western Coast, and it has now attained dimensions which, probably, are nearly equal to what you had when you began to think about suppressing the trade on the opposite coast. Owing, too, to the length of the journey and other circumstances connected with the transport of slaves from the interior, it is attended with greater horrors, on land at all events, than ever attended the slave-trade on the West Coast. However, all that we wrote and all that we said about this question seemed to make very little impression, and when I came home I began to be of opinion that some change had come over your views in the matter. I knew that there were a great many new opinions abroad. Some men said that the old belief that all mankind were of one blood and of one race was all untrue, and that we were of many races and many different bloods, and that it was, therefore, no particular harm for any one of those races to domineer over and oppress another. I do not mean to say they ever put this forward prominently, or with much authority, but it was a very popular way of talking and a popular way of writing. I believed then, and still believe, that it embodies an immense falsehood—a falsehood in fact, and a falsehood in all the deductions that have been drawn from it. However, that was one of the things which I thought might have influenced public opinion. Then, notwithstanding all that had happened in the West Indies, and all that had happened in America, there was certainly a very considerable fashion of looking down upon all men who differed from us in colour or in race. Though in this case few people put their ideas into

very definite or precise language, still you could not talk, even to educated people, without occasionally meeting some who held a hardly-disguised opinion that all the old beliefs upon which your exertions as an Anti-Slavery Society were founded were errors. I thought then that possibly this had something to do with the apathy on the subject of the slave-trade, but I am bound to confess that during the few years I have been in England, and looked more closely at the matter, I have come to the conclusion that there is nothing permanently wrong about the beliefs of any large body of professing, earnest Christians in this matter. There is a certain froth on surface of society among which you may find a great many atoms, and very influential atoms, who will tell you all these new-fangled theories—about the truths which we learn in the Bible being all mistakes—but I do not think that this has penetrated very deep into Christian England. *That is my belief; and I have come to the conclusion that all the apathy on this subject arises from your not knowing and thinking over the facts of the case.* You have won a great victory. Your forefathers fought the battle for you, and you are now enjoying the fruits. I can remember when slavery prevailed over the whole of our West Indian possessions, over America, and throughout Brazil. I can remember, after a great hurricane at Barbadoes, going to inquire of a very beautiful young lady whose family were there, how they had fared; and I remember her telling my mother, "Well, thank you, we did not lose any lives on our estate, and not many negroes." That was the feeling then; but I would ask you whether any young lady would now talk in that way? I do not think she would; and if you enquire what has become of slavery in North America and in the West Indies, you will find that it has gone the way which all false systems must follow. Slavery has in those places gone to destruction; and whatever may be the throes through which society there must pass before things come right—and you and I do not much expect things ever to come perfectly right in this world—still there will be a continued progress towards a better state of things, and, at any rate, it will not be in this generation that you will hear anything more of slavery in those parts of the great continent of America, or of the West Indies. Well, it seems to me that you have been rather inclined to sit down under your laurels and enjoy the fruits of your victory, hugging yourselves in the belief that the same thing that happened there will never happen again. This is the error against which I think you must guard; for if you will look at the Parlia-

mentary and other papers which have been published—they are not very amusing, but generally the facts are pretty well sifted, and you may commonly rely on what a Parliamentary Committee has told you—you will see that this great, hideous slave-trade does exist on the East Coast of Africa. They tell you also something more. They tell you facts which show it is quite possible to put an end to it, and they show the way in which it may be put an end to. If you will look into it you will find it is not a matter of great difficulty—not one attended with very great expense. It only requires a little determination, and a decision that you will not be put aside or put off with any false promises or false hopes, but that you will see the slave-trade abolished. And now, if you find that I have not been telling you a cunningly devised fable—if you find that the things I have told you are true—what I should like you to do would be to settle what to do, and to make those over whom you have influence do that which your fathers did, put down Slavery on the East Coast of Africa as your fathers put it down upon the West Coast. You will say, “How is this to be done?” and the astonishing thing to me is that there are two or three great departments of Government which have already pointed out how the thing is to be done, and why the machine does not move it is very difficult to say. [Sir Bartle Frere here suggested some changes in the Admiralty arrangements for its repression, which would give them more the character of a preventive service than heretofore.] Next consider what is wanted to be done on land. Part of that coast is under the Portuguese, and they are, as Livingstone has told you, amongst the greatest and most persistent slavers in the world; but under the direction of statesmen like the Emperor of Brazil, whom you had here last year, and other enlightened men, they have been getting out of their old errors on this subject; and I have no doubt that, in process of time—if you only give them time and keep them up to the mark—the Portuguese will not be behind the rest of Europe in putting down slavery in their own dominions. They have lately taken measures to abolish it in Brazil, partly by their own statesmen, partly by different agencies brought to bear upon them by you. A tribe of Arabs, however, occupying the eastern extremity of Arabia, being great sailors and traders, went to Africa and built up an empire just about the same time that we were building up an empire in India, and we have always been good friends with them. They had some of their dominions in Arabia, some of their

dominions in Africa. Some ten or twelve years ago when their prince died he left two sons. To one he left his Arabian dominions, to the other his African dominions; and there was a certain arrangement by which the rich African dominions were to send a certain tribute to the poor Arabian dominions. So things went on. He was not a very active—I doubt whether he was at all an active—agent in creating the slave-trade; but it grew up partly under his influence, partly because he found it was made profitable to him to allow it; and it came to pass in the end a great part of the African revenue came to be derived from a tax on slaves. When these two brothers, the one in Arabia and the other in Africa, could not settle their affairs between themselves, they were going to fight, but before doing so they appealed to the Governor-General of India, who at that time was Lord Canning. Lord Canning did not belong to a school whose doctrine it was that people should be left to fight and cut one another's throats if he could help it. He belonged to a school of men who would, when they could, use the power of arbitrating and keeping the peace among their neighbours. In this case he was very successful. He sent down General Coghlan, a very experienced and excellent man, with Mr. Badger, an excellent Arabian scholar, as his secretary; and they went from one place to another and saw the princes, and ended by making a very good treaty between the two divisions of this Arab empire, by which one prince was to remain in possession of the Arabian dominions, the other the African, and the African prince was to send a tribute yearly to Arabia, and we guaranteed it. After a time one of these princes was murdered—I am sorry to say by his own son. We had rather changed our policy with regard to these things then; and, instead of refusing to have anything to do with the parricide, we rather left him alone, and were rather prepared to recognise him if he was strong enough. We simply let things drift, and the end of it was both kingdoms fell into disorder, and were on the verge of war, as they are at present. But you can keep the peace, and you can settle this slave-trade question, and do a great many other things which will promote commerce and civilisation in those seas, if you can only discover the way by which one of these two people can get £8,000 or so a year out of the other. In any other country in the world this would not be a very difficult job; and it always seemed to me that, as the British Government is a third party to the question, it would not be unbecoming the British Government if, in the interest not only of

commerce but also of civilisation, they were to say: "Sooner than you two should go on fighting about this, and the poor negro should suffer all the while by being carried into slavery as the victim of your quarrels and your misunderstandings, we will put our hands in our pockets." It is no great thing compared with what you did on the other side. You recollect what you paid in the case of the West Indies. Well, all that is necessary, I believe, to gain the concurrence of these two great powers, to make them peaceful to one another and extremely grateful to you, and to secure their assistance in putting down the slave-trade on the Eastern Coast, is some £8,000 a year—not for ever, but only probably for the lifetime of a couple of middle-aged men, certainly not for more than a couple of generations, and that might be halved between England and India, and ought I think to be halved, because both England and India have great interest in the matter. Now I have told you what seems to me a practical plan for doing what is needed on this Eastern Coast. It is, first of all, that you should empower the Admiralty to do what they think necessary, and it is really no great matter compared with what you have done in former days. Compared with what you spend upon things which are not for the good of humanity but are mere matters of self-defence, the expense of equipping an active and efficient squadron upon that Eastern Coast is a mere trifle. The Admiralty are most willing, the naval officers are most willing, and all they want is a very small addition to the naval estimates for this special purpose. Then there is your Foreign Office which you are very much in the habit of abusing, but which I think does not always deserve your abuse; because often that Foreign Office, in its way, writes your peaceful and Christian wishes in a much better manner than we are likely to write them ourselves. Well, the Foreign Office is wholly and entirely with you in everything you would do in the way of putting down the slave-trade, and all they want is a very small sum indeed. A few thousand pounds would go an immense way towards employing not highly-paid ambassadors, but trustworthy agents, at £500 here, and £200 there, and small sums of that sort, who would be their eyes and ears to tell you what is going on in this matter. They will, besides that, perform a dozen other useful functions connected with trade of every kind. Those are two things—the Admiralty are with you, and prepared to do what you want for a small addition to their estimates; the Foreign Office is with you, and prepared to do what you want for a small addition to

their estimates. I have no doubt if you went to the Governor-General, and said, "Here we are doing this; now let us have this £8,000, and you pay £4,000 and we pay £4,000," you would not find the slightest difficulty in getting the thing done. Then there would be the three great departments—the Admiralty, the Foreign Office, and the India Office—who would be doing what you wish done in this matter. "Well," you say, "why on earth don't they do it then?" I will tell you. It is simply because the Treasury object to any such addition to the estimates. Mind, I do not blame the Treasury. They are bound to take care of the public purse, and it is their business to see that no money is expended which they do not think is for the national good and for national purposes, or which the people of England are not determined to spend. They are your agents; they are using your money, and they are perfectly right in holding it very tight, and not giving it out without good reason. I have no doubt that some statesmen would say "Well, this is a national thing, and this is a matter on which we will judge, and we will pay the money and then ask Parliament." That does not happen to be what is done just at present, and if you take my advice you will tell all your representatives, whether they are representatives in London, or in Lancashire, or Yorkshire, England, Scotland, or Ireland, that your mind is made up upon this matter, that you do not intend to let a few hundreds or thousands of pounds stand in the way of having the slave-trade put down as far as it can be put down by English influence and English power, and that you insist upon your agent, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, putting his hand into your money-bag, and giving the money which is required by the departments of the State to do what is necessary to put down this abominable traffic. That is the long and short of what it seems to me you ought to do. If you really are in earnest about this slave-trade matter, then the time is fully come when you should take it up, for, depend upon it, these opportunities are not offered to a nation perpetually. When once offered and not taken advantage of as blessings and trusts, and accepted as gifts of the Almighty, they are liable to be withdrawn. Nobody can tell what may be the issue if you do not exert yourselves. Possibly the negro may go on being enslaved, and all the horrors which accompany slavery may still continue in the East as they did in the West, and it may be ages before the thing is put down. Or it may be that some other nation will come forward and take up the trust which you have declined, and it may be the glory of

some other country to do what you ought to do, what you have the power to do, and what I sincerely believe you have the will to do. It is necessary that you should not on this matter be any longer apathetic. You must make up your minds to look this question in the face, and either to decide that you will let the question alone as you have let it alone so long, or that you will do what the Parliamentary Committees and what the great departments of the State have told you is necessary. You must say to your representatives, "We want you to press this question forward, to press it earnestly upon the Government, and tell them that it is not a thing that you intend to let die or to let drop; that you will have the Admiralty supported in their endeavours to put down the slave-trade by sea; that you will have the Foreign Office supported in their endeavours to know what is going on by land; and that you will have the other departments of Government empowered to keep peace between these two Arab States at Muscat and Zanzibar, and to enlist them as your allies—and the time is most propitious—in this Christian work of putting down slavery." You may depend upon it that in this case the blessing which always accompanies doing your duty cannot be withheld. No description that I can give you can come up to the reality as it has been described to me by Livingstone, and by my friend Mr. Waller here, of the opportunities which there are in Eastern Africa, more probably than in any other part of that great continent, for civilisation and improvement of every kind; and unless you are untrue to yourselves, unless you are untrue to your traditions, it is now in your power to do what may effectually open the way to a great regeneration of a country which has too long slumbered under the indifference of Englishmen. I must apologise for so long detaining you, and thank you for the patience with which you have heard my statement.

REV. HORACE WALLER: Mr. Chairman, my dear friends, I confess that some part of that fear which was mine when I entered this chamber has passed away from me, and it is with greater ease I rise to address you, because I felt as I was coming here that I was about to face an element which I had long wished to meet with, which, as long as I have known what slavery was, has always appeared to reflect from the clouds those beautiful lights which illuminate the happiest tints of our common Christianity. I felt also that I was about to speak to those who are my fathers in this matter, and that it behoved me to be careful what I said, to remember that my words must take effect, and the hope was

also mine that I might be of use in meeting you here to-night. But since I have been here I have found that two great links in that chain which binds us Englishmen together on this point have been strong to their trust. In the first place one of our most active representatives in such matters, a member of our House of Commons, has introduced the subject before you. In the second place—and I must say so before him—a great statesman has addressed you, who, perhaps more than any one of this generation, has studied our common humanity under the rapidly changing phases it is undergoing, and who now comes here to tell you that he has met with a great evil under this sun, and not to spare you, but to remind you of that which is your duty. I stand before you as another link in that chain. I hold, I trust, fast to that great heart which is at present, please God, beating in Africa—to the heart of Livingstone, who hopes to come back yet to you to take up these tales which we are telling you. I feel as though his gaze was upon me now, because it was a compact which we entered into in Africa, which we again signed and sealed in this country, that so long as breath was spared to us, the one might work in a different part of the world, but it was not that the other should be idle; therefore, whether it be Livingstone in Africa, or Dr. Kirk reporting from the coast of Africa, or he who stands before you, it is a common duty that we are engaged in. I am bound together with these men in a common cause. I feel that it is not for me to take up your time or your attention by representing to you more fully that which is our duty as Englishmen. It is upon some part of my own experience that I am going to speak. I am going to trace out for you the status of the negro in East Africa before the slave-trade came there; I shall briefly follow him on his sad path to the coast; and I shall see him disposed of by the slaver in that part of the world to which he is sent by the barbarous system that we are here together to-night to consider. Let me tell you something of the slave-trade as it is at present in East Africa, because I have the fullest means of keeping myself posted up in what goes on there. Mail by mail I get letters from Dr. Kirk, and other people, who assure me that the slave-trade, instead of decreasing since I was there is increasing, day by day. It is carried on, as Sir Bartle Frere has told you, by two sets of men, the Portuguese and the Arabs. These Arabs are nominally under the sway of the Imaum of Muscat and the Sultan of Zanzibar. I will not take up your time by showing you the little minor details in which slavery differs in the two systems, for they are

almost identical. In the part of the country where I was, slaves were collected both for the Portuguese and the Arab markets, so it makes my task easier in describing it, inasmuch as I can assure you, that although the Portuguese slave-hunters may be rather worse than the Arabs, yet for all our purposes their modes of treatment are one and identical. That part of Africa which Livingstone of late years, I may say, has discovered—the lake region—we find to be perhaps the finest watered country in the world, instead of a repetition of the Sahara in the north, and until within a few years it was densely populated. Livingstone passed beyond what the Portuguese claim as their possessions, and owing to that simplicity of manner, that boldness of front, that philanthropic character which is his wherever he goes, the natives received him where they never would allow the Portuguese to go before, and they began altogether to alter their opinion about the white man. The Arabs, for their own purposes, always make it well understood throughout the country that the white man preys on the black man—that he is but a beast of prey—that he hovers like a kite along the coast, and when the Arab *dhows* are caught it is merely in order that the slaves captured in them may be eaten. This fear has penetrated to quite the innermost parts of Africa, and is one of the greatest obstacles that the white man has to encounter in his travels there. But, as I say, Livingstone was well received, and after having been there for a few months he came back to England to report to us what he had discovered—that there was a land healthy, well-watered, teeming with population, where warfare was nothing compared with what it was amongst the Kaffir tribes. Small quarrels occurred among the natives, but they were not a warlike race at all, clearly distinguishable from the Zulus and the Kaffirs in those respects. He invited us to go out there, “for,” said he, “you will find a people engaged in agriculture, most industrious, growing cotton and collecting ivory, whose country is full of ebony and valuable gums; they are good smelters and manufacturers of iron, and their industry is such that I am quite sure the ways of civilisation would spread among them. By the time you have learned the language you will, by your philanthropy and good behaviour, have been already preaching the Gospel, and you will be received with greater assurance of success than ordinarily falls to the lot of missionaries.” It was after the lamented death of my leader Bishop Mackenzie, that these scenes I am about to describe to you met my eyes. When Livingstone went

back to the country with us we found the whole thing changed. Nothing could be more terrible than the change which had come over the scene. The Portuguese had followed his good name and fame. They had penetrated after him, and they said to the natives, “You have seen one white man, now see us: we are his brothers. You know what he said he would do for you; we come to carry out his promises.” In that way, after the settlements on the Zambesi had been kept up for 300 years with more or less success, they, for the first time, got a footing in that part of the country. It was just the country they wanted, for in those days you could not go along the banks of any of the brooks without seeing two or three villages, and in some places the villages were even more closely than that. As to travelling about with water and provisions, it was not necessary, because we could buy what we wanted. I am speaking now of the outlying district that we came to, when the slave-trade had not yet got its footing, but where it was, when we arrived there, and found all desolation. I will just give you a description of the first slave-gang that we came across. It was on our second day’s march into the hills. We breakfasted one morning at a village about ten o’clock, and after getting a bath in the stream and so forth, we were beginning to write up our notes of the previous day and do whatever was necessary, for we could not march very far the second day, having been so long on board ship, when I heard a horn blowing, and I saw some talk going on among the natives. Livingstone had, at that time, a number of men called Makalolo with him. They had travelled with him from the interior of Africa, and well knew his hatred of the slave-trade, and there was, therefore, a little commotion among them, for they thought the fact of eight or ten Englishmen being there, and a gang of slaves coming down, was likely to lead to some interference. I went to Livingstone and told him that I had heard there was a slave-gang coming down. He said, “I have also heard it this minute.” What could be done in the matter? Well, it seemed perfectly clear what was to be done, and I am sure that all here will be of the same opinion. If you had been with me you would have done what Livingstone and all of us did—that is to say, no matter what complications might come between Portugal and England, we were resolved that this slave-gang should not pass on. Well, in less time than I take to talk about it, these unfortunate creatures—eighty-four of them—wended their way into the village where we were. Some of them, the eldest, were women from 20 to 22 years of age,

and there were youths from 18 to 19, but the large majority was made up of boys and girls from 7 years to 14 or 15 years of age. A more terrible scene than these men, women, and children I do not think I ever came across. To say that they were emaciated would not give you an idea of what human beings can undergo under certain circumstances. To imagine that any poor creatures could march on for five or six weeks, as these poor people had been doing, in the utter state of torture in which they were, seems almost incredible. I believe the physique of the white man could never have endured it. Each of them had his neck in a large forked stick, which was as thick as one of those iron columns supporting the gallery here, and weighing from thirty to forty pounds, and five or six feet long, cut with a fork at the end of it where the branches of a tree spread out. Each man's neck was placed in this, and an iron pin was run through. The pin was as thick as one's little finger, and was generally put in red hot to burn the wood, and then twisted round with a powerful pair of tongs, so that it was utterly impossible for him ever to get it off. The next man behind him had his stick twisted round in front, and the two were lashed together, so that the stick of one protruded behind, and the other had his in front of his throat, and the two were obliged to march in Indian file for five or six weeks together. The women were tethered with bark thongs, which are of all things the most cruel to be tied with. Of course they are soft and supple when first stripped off the trees, but a few hours in the sun make them about as hard as the iron round packing-cases. The little children were fastened by thongs to their mothers, because the most valuable slave is a young mother who has a child just old enough to walk after her. So this miserable gang of human beings came into the village one after another, the very picture of despair. One man whom I saw limping along, had been struck by a fish spear in the heel some two months before. When I tell you that the heel was swollen up to the size of a cocoanut, and was discharging in the most horrible way—and under my treatment for two months never healed up till a great part of the bone came away—you may imagine what his sufferings had been. But these slaves had been bought so cheaply that it was worth while to see how long they could endure. Well, Livingstone and those who were with him, dashed at the slave-hunters and seized them. There was no recourse to firearms or anything of that kind, because several of these men recognised Livingstone as having been in the Por-

tuguese settlement of Tette. One of them was the servant of the Governor of Tette—who, I have no doubt in his dispatches to the Home country, appears as philanthropic as Livingstone, and as carrying out all those pretty commands sent from Portugal to the different Portuguese settlements; but he was the greatest slaver of the lot; and we knew it then, and could prove it. The first thing, then, was what to do with these poor people. I know I have repeated this to some here present, but they must pardon me, because I cannot manufacture fresh facts. The first act of an English saw in that part of the world was to cut off one of those sticks from one of the poor fellows, and in less than half an hour we were able, partly through interpreters and partly through our looks and deeds, to show to these poor people that they were free. We then took all their sticks and bonds, and made them into a large heap, and set fire to them. We took from the slavers all the calico they had—for that is the currency of the country. We clothed them with this calico, which was intended to buy fresh slaves with, and we gave them all the food. This, however, is but the pleasing side of the subject, for on the next day we resumed our march, and then it was that I began to learn something of the slave-trade in its true horrors. As we passed along the path which these slaves had travelled a few hours before, I heard muttering and whispering, and noticed a sad look on their faces. Then I was shown a spot in the bushes where a poor woman the day before, unable to keep on the march, and likely to hinder it, was cut down by the axe of one of these slave-drivers; her bonds were then cut in two, and her body cast into the bushes. We went on further and were shown a place where a child lay. It had been recently born, and its mother was unable to carry it on from debility and exhaustion; so the slave-trader had taken this little infant by its feet and dashed its brains out against one of the trees, and thrown it in there. These are facts that came before me, and I need not appeal to volumes you might easily turn to. If I were to tell you what Dr. Livingstone has described of his late marches in Africa, I could show you that the slave-dealer's path is strewn with human bones from the collecting place on the borders of the lakes in the interior of Africa to the shore. But you will say, "Why should this be?" I will tell you why, but I must preface what I have to say now by retracing my steps for a few moments to show you how these slaves are collected. The slave-dealer comes into the country. He brings with him calico and beads, which are worn

with the same delight by the natives as precious stones are among us ; the surprise is mutual, for the native wonders how we can send 30,000 men out to South Africa to slave and toil to get diamonds when he thinks beads are really prettier in colour, and I have always been at a loss to come forward with a very strong argument on the per contra side. Be this as it may, he has this in common with us—his love of ornaments to hang round his neck and give to his wife. The beads and the calico therefore attract all buyers to the slave-dealer's presence. He then tells them that what he wants is slaves, and he must have them. "Well, but we have none here," they say. "Never mind that ; have not you any quarrels afloat, or anything of that kind ?" And then he preys on the weak nature of the savage, and soon finds that this chief, or that chief, has an old, outstanding, smouldering quarrel with another a few miles off, and he would like to have a chance of carrying the war into the enemy's country. The slave-dealer then fits him up with a few muskets and some powder, when he is of course stronger than his enemy, who has only bows and arrows. The attacks are made by night ; the villages are destroyed by fire ; the men are speared as they rush out of the burning huts ; and the women and children are secured and brought to the slave-dealer on the following day. I shall startle you, perhaps, when I tell you that the current price for a slave when we were there was two yards of calico, and calico was really cheaper then than now. The calico we had on the spot cost us fourpence a yard, so that for eightpence at that time a slave could be bought. But this is a good price to what I saw slaves fetch afterwards. War broke out throughout the country. Wherever the slave-dealer came he brought war with him. It was just what he wanted. This is a country that depends entirely for its crops on the rainy season. Now what woman would take her children into the gardens to hoe the ground when devastation and kidnapping were all over the country ? There was no cultivation that year. The poor people hid themselves among the woods, and rocks, and mountains, and fed on such food as they could get during the wet season, and when the dry season came, which happened to be unusually severe that year, there was famine throughout the country, and so bad did it become, that at last I have seen children sold for about the quantity of corn that would half fill one of our hats—for a few handfuls of corn slaves were to be bought. Then you can easily imagine how, by bringing in corn, and calico, and beads, these men could make up their slave-gangs.

They buy an enormous number of slaves, knowing they must lose a great many on the path to the coast, but knowing also that those that succeeded in reaching the coast will amply recoup them. If you wanted to take some ice down to the country during this weather, you would take a double quantity from your fish-monger, knowing that a considerable quantity would waste on the road. So with the slave-dealer. He knows that he will lose twenty or thirty, or, sometimes, if they are taken far up the country, forty per cent. ; but those slaves who were bought for two yards of calico were fetching at Mozambique eight or nine dollars a piece. So great was the extermination in those hills in three years that when we left the country I believe we might have travelled twenty or thirty miles and never found a human being, and Dr. Livingstone tells us now, and I have letters from him during this last journey in which he states it, that he passed over hundreds of miles along that tract of country and never met a human being, but met with remains of villages incessantly in a state of utter desolation owing to the slave-trade. And I regret to say, that in consequence of these miseries and hardships, the state of the country is even a great deal worse now than then, because the slave-dealers have cleared away the population lying adjacent to the East Coast, and have to go farther into the interior ; therefore, the poor slaves have to be marched down from a greater distance, and it is no uncommon thing for them to be six months on the path, and sometimes the loss of life is so hideous that they can only bring a handful of men with them. Now I want to trace these poor slaves with you after they get to the coast. They are taken to Mozambique, to Quiloo, to Delagoa Bay, and various other places, where they are shipped to the North. I regret I have not a map here, because the East Coast of Africa is hardly sufficiently known ; but, however, those who feel sufficient interest in this subject, will, I have no doubt, when they return home, see exactly where Zanzibar is. It is an island about the size of the Isle of Wight on the East Coast of Africa, a little to the north of Madagascar. The greater part of the slaves go to Zanzibar. Now when I tell you that the Sultan of Zanzibar has a slave-market there, which, to our shame be it said, is within a stone's throw of English men-of-war, French men-of-war, German merchant-ships, American men-of-war, all anchored there ; when I tell you that the slave-market has passing through it from 20,000 to 25,000 slaves a year ; that this Sultan of Zanzibar, who really owes everything to our good countenance,

receives two dollars a head on all of these unfortunate slaves; you may well be startled at such an anomaly existing. But these are well-known facts. They have been proved by investigations by members of Parliament and members of our Government, and I dare not repeat them to you if they were not absolutely true figures. But in some way to verify these figures, I noticed the other day that in that account sent over to us of the terrific cyclone which has prevailed at Zanzibar, the physician to the Sultan of Zanzibar speaks of there being a population in that island of 800,000 slaves at the present moment. That will give you some idea of what the slave-trade is in Zanzibar. But that is nothing to what I wish to call your attention to more particularly. Besides the 20,000 slaves that are landed in Zanzibar under some marvellous treaties which exist between us and the Sultan, by which we allow him to carry on this trade, there is a roving horde of Arabs that comes down from Muscat every year to buy slaves, and take them away and sell them at Muscat; and these do not pass through this slave-market, and I am not exaggerating when I say that if you were to put another 20,000 per annum for those not accounted for in that slave-market, you would be very near the right figures. But put the whole number at less than that; say 30,000 a year pass from the interior to the north and the east. Now, I do believe, that for every single slave in that large number, five lives are lost in the interior before they get to the coast. I have known the time when Livingstone has set it at ten. This is a solemn and most awful fact. When you think that there must be from 250,000 to something like 400,000 individuals who are brought to an untimely end every year in East Africa from this slave-trade, I am sure it is time we were up and doing. Remember that the old, poor people perish through the hardships of war and famine; the infants die inevitably; there are no young people left to resuscitate the tribes; and how can a people exist in any country where that is the case? The backbone is taken out of the country, and the limbs are utterly paralysed in consequence. It is in this way that we travellers have passed over huge tracts of fertile country without a soul being there, but with the remains of cotton bushes and cotton looms and all the signs of cultivation teeming around. These slaves when they are brought to Zanzibar, I am sorry to say, have not yet ended their troubles. They are frequently brought there in the most terrible state it is possible to conceive. I have not been at Zanzibar myself, but I know so much about it that I sometimes

have to check myself by making this announcement. My friend and relative, Dr. Kirk, has been acting political agent there for five or six years, and from him and this late Livingstone expedition, and other friends out there, I know exactly what is going on. These slaves sometimes when they arrive there, owing to a bad voyage, or provisions running short, are in the most dreadful state imaginable. In the London Docks there is an institution called the Queen's Tobacco Pipe. Cigars and manufactured tobacco come to this country sometimes in a damaged state, and it is not worth while for the importer to pay the heavy duty of 8s. or 9s. a pound on this manufactured stuff; therefore he says, "I will not pay the duty; but on the other hand, I am not going to allow you Custom house officers to take it as your property." What is to be done with it? The difficulty is got over by throwing it into a large furnace and consuming it there, and that is called the Queen's Tobacco Pipe. I trust by using such a simile I shall not be accused of jocularity. Well, these slaves when they arrive there are often not worth paying two dollars upon; and they are, therefore, taken from the slave-vessels and laid on the sands. I had this from General Rigby—I regret he is not here to-night—who was acting political agent there for years, and did more against the slave-trade than any man of the present generation. He told me that these poor things are laid out there when they are almost dead, and unable to move hand or foot, and they are left twenty-four hours to see if the seabreeze will refresh them sufficiently to make it worth while to take them to the slave-market; but if they do not recover they are allowed to die where they are, and their bodies are left to wash about with the ebb and flow of the tide. That is to be seen to this day; and I wish to impress upon you that these things, instead of getting better, or being stories of a bygone age, are actually intensifying in their horrors day by day, and I have only to appeal to those who are intimately acquainted with the subject to verify that opinion. Now, it is a common question, and a very proper one, "Where do these slaves go to?" The West Coast slaves used to go to our own possessions and to Brazil; but that is done away with. Where do they go?" Well, they go to the coasts of the Red Sea, on both sides; they are sold in large numbers to the Somalis in the extreme north-east of Africa; they go to the Persian Gulf, a great many to Egypt; and, I am sorry to say, not a few to India. I am one of those that live in hope, and I trust some day to find the Viceroy of Egypt determined to do something against

the slave-trade, but at present it is most easy to import slaves from the East Coast of Africa. Why, General Rigby only a short time ago came from India, and when he got to Suez he found the water-tanks which bring fresh water over from Cairo going back to Cairo for water, and to his horror he found them filled with slave-boys. Now, if you can imagine what the torture of a slave-boy in an iron tank crossing the desert is, perhaps you won't be able to say when his treatment is at the worst. There is another argument which I feel it only right to meet face to face, because it is very likely to be brought before you. Those shallow thinking people, who know nothing, and care but little about their fellow-beings' welfare, say, "Well, but you must admit yourself that the slave when he gets to the Arab master—who, mind you, by the time he gets to the coast of Arabia has to give very often 200 dollars for him—you must admit that he is in a far better state than he could have been in this disturbed state of Africa which you have been describing." Granted he is in a better state; and nothing could be worse than to live in a country torn to pieces by the slave-trade. When the Arab master gives 200 dollars for him he no more thinks of ill-treating him than you would a valuable horse that you had bought. He is too valuable to be ill-treated, and he is cared for; and I will say that for the Arab, that he is a great deal better master than a Portuguese is. He looks after his slave, he is kind to him, and in time the poor boy forgets his parents and his native country, and he is received into the household. But is this an argument for allowing such a state of things to go on? Once do away with the slave-trade, give missionaries room to go back there, and silence for the word we have to preach; once give us the opportunity of introducing civilisation, and then I will say flatly, No, he is better off in his own country; but until you stop this slave-trade it cannot be done. I wish now to follow up that which Sir Bartle Frere has so ably spoken of as to the present opportunity. I do believe that the present opportunity is staring us in the face. By a remarkable coincidence, just at the time when we hoped to bring this matter before the Houses of Parliament this year, we get news that the Sultan of Zanzibar has almost become a ruined man. Zanzibar is an island, which, I believe, if it only gets a fair chance, will be for East Africa what Kurrachee is for India at the present moment. The whole trade from the east of Africa—the ivory, the gums, the cloves, and so forth—formerly went to Bombay, and were shipped thence to England; but now, owing to the Suez Canal being opened, vessels and

steamers run to Zanzibar and come back in no time, bringing valuable cargoes, and the whole thing is changed in aspect. But it has been the object of a number of merchants there to keep these things as quiet as possible; and I must warn you of this, that, when this question comes to be thoroughly ventilated and dealt with, I do not say you will encounter opposition from the merchants at Zanzibar, but you will find a dead silence on the part of the merchants; and, were you to probe their hearts, some would rather have the slave-trade go on as it is. Let me give you one instance. A merchant at Zanzibar has a lot of European produce in his warehouse. An Arab comes to him and says: "You know me to be an honest man; you know me to be an active man. Give me six months' credit, and I will take 5,000 dollars' worth of calicoes and so forth from you." Very well; he is trusted. He goes away with this cargo. No questions are asked, and if there are, he says he is going to the north, to the Somali, to buy hides; and it is not altogether untrue. He comes back in six months with a cargo of hides, pays the merchant honestly what he owes, and all are pleased. But there is a little transaction in the meantime. Instead of going to the Somali country he first of all trips down the coast to Quiloa, and there buys a cargo of slaves. With these he quickly goes back to the Somali country, and changes the slaves for hides at an enormous profit, and then comes back and pays the merchant. Now, supposing one of our cruisers had caught that man, destroyed his dhow, and liberated the slaves, then the whole loss would have fallen on the merchant at Zanzibar. I have the case of an actual fact before me. At the present moment the cyclone has almost destroyed Zanzibar. The Sultan there, who had an income of between £100,000 and £120,000 sterling per annum, will for the next few years get a very slight profit indeed. When I tell you that according to the return which has just come over describing that hurricane, we are told that £5,000,000 sterling worth of property has been destroyed, you may imagine how this little island had quietly, without anybody knowing it, grown to this vast importance. So, you see, that if we put a stop to the slave-trade of the Sultan of Zanzibar, we are not going to ruin the man; we are going to make him a richer man than he ever was before; we are going to make something like a Kurrachee out of that island, and in time he will be able, if he likes, to buy up his brother twenty times over. Now, I think that for him, beginning at the lowest level, for ourselves, for the status of the negro in Africa, it is only

right that we should stir in this matter. I do implore of you; I add my voice, feeble as it may be, to the great voice which is borne across to you to-night, of one whose mark is left not on the policy of this country, but on the vast continent of India—I would, in his presence, feebly follow up that which he has said. We do urge you to stir in this matter because we know it is a crisis; we know to whom we ought to appeal, and we have the opportunity of doing it to-night. We but unfold before you with our words your old traditions; we spare you not, because we feel that speaking plainly is far best. We look to you to do as you have done before, and then our hopes will burn brighter than they have ever done since we have known the full horrors of this iniquitous trade, and learnt that instead of becoming extinct it is actually increasing day by day. If this island of Zanzibar is not dealt with, and the Sultan is not dealt with quickly, he will give it over, I believe, to the northern Arabs to make what they can out of the slave-trade there, and the last state of the place will be a thousand times worse than the first.

Sir THOMAS FOWELL BUXTON: Mr. Gilpin, ladies, and gentlemen, I believe this meeting was called with a view of intensifying our horror of the slave-trade, and our desire to put our shoulder to any wheel which seemed to be moving in the direction of its extinction, and I venture to think that if we were now to separate with that picture on our minds which Mr. Waller has just left there, perhaps the object of this meeting would be best accomplished. We must remember, as he has told us, that the facts which he has depicted are facts which are going on now, and, as far as we know, they are not decreasing. They have come within eyesight of Mr. Waller, and in him we may look at them as if we were seeing a picture in a mirror. Those deeds are going on now, and there is another thing to be remembered, that they are going on in a district in which we, more than any other nation in the world, have power and authority. I venture to think that there is a great deal of coldness and indifference upon this matter throughout the country in the first place, perhaps because of sheer ignorance about it. It is not known what the case is; and I think it does devolve upon us who know to try and do something more to spread information about it. We might take courage from this fact, that such information as we have is information that cannot be gainsayed; it is absolutely authentic; and I think I may thank you, sir, for being the chief mover in obtaining the recent report of a Committee of the House of Commons.

That report, it may be, does not contain a single fact that we did not know before, and for every fact we might have given proof; but there it is with the stamp of the House of Commons, having passed the ordeal of a Committee, some of the members of which were not inclined to see with our eyes, but were rather inclined to see aversely, and there is every fact on which we need rely. This ignorance of the country merely needs telling, because, as I have said, the information is such as cannot be gainsayed. But then, again, we are sometimes met with a sort of sneaking, half-implied argument, "Why should we go to the ends of the world to put down every iniquity on the face of the earth?" I think there is a very clear and distinct answer to all that. It will be admitted on all hands that where we have distinct, solid authority, we ought to exercise it on the side of right. We have such authority in India, and there is not a man in the country who would not say we were right in putting down the custom of suttees, or the murder of infants, or other things of that kind. Then again, within the bounds of India, there are the native States, and no one would deny that if atrocious iniquities were going on in a native State, we would be justified in stepping in and using our imperial authority in putting down those iniquities. Now the point I want to insist on is this, that in Zanzibar and throughout the Indian Ocean we exercise authority similar to what we exercise in the native States. Therefore, if we have power in both, we are equally laden with the duty of putting down any atrocities that may occur. I am bound to prove that by one or two remarks. Our attention has already been called by Sir Bartle Frere to what took place in the year 1859, when there were two States about to go to war with as good reason as most nations have when they want to go to war, and one fleet had weighed anchor, and had started to prosecute that war, when a little dispatch boat, carrying nothing but a dispatch from Lord Canning, came up and ordered that fleet home again. This is not an atmosphere where perhaps one might talk of guns and armaments with perfect ease, but I venture to say there is not a member of the Society of Friends who would not have rejoiced to command that dispatch boat. It carried the simple order that that fleet was to go back, and that those two powerful potentates were not to fight, and the fleet did go back, and they did not fight. Then Lord Canning constituted himself arbitrator between the two with all the cordiality and evidence of heart for which he is famed; he obtained their consent; and, without

going into details, the quarrel between them was settled infinitely more satisfactorily than it could have been in any other way. Then again we have interfered politically. The present ruler at Zanzibar is one Syud Bargash, who got up a rebellion against his brother, the late Syud Majeed, and our Consul, General Rigby, took a few British seamen, and, whether properly or not, captured Syud Bargash, took him to his own consulate, kept him in close quarters, and shipped him off to Bombay. There was a little rough and ready interference which I may mention as proving that we do exercise authority similar to what we exercise in a native State in India. I will conclude with this remark, that within the last two or three years we have supplied the money for building a prison there. Now if there could be anything slightly ridiculous, and yet proving my point, it is that. We have done these things, and we keep our fleet on that coast first and foremost as a matter of police for our own protection. The Arabs from the north come down professing to be traders; generally they are slave-traders; but they are always ready to turn their hands to a little piracy or a little ruffianism of any kind, and not a single trading season goes by in the harbour of Zanzibar but it is necessary for a frigate to be there to protect our interests. The whole retail trade of the country is in our interest, and a vast deal of this slave-buying in the town is carried on by Her Majesty's subjects from India. We have to keep our ships there to protect their rights and their property, and to protect their children from being stolen; and I say it does lay upon us to exercise whatever political, ay, and whatever physical force too—I will venture to say—we possess, in maintaining the order there which ought to be maintained. Exactly what is to be done is a matter I will not trench upon beyond this, that I heartily agree with those who wish absolutely to give up those treaties under which we tacitly assent to this trade. Whether it would be immediately followed by a practical result or not, I think it is a matter that does compromise us in the eyes of the world. It is impossible for natives in these parts to see a dhow being laden or unladen under the very shadow of Her Majesty's flag at the consulate, and understand us when we say we allow it there, but a little way off do not allow it. I am sure I cannot understand it, and I think we ought to be agreed in insisting, as far as we can, upon the entire giving up of those treaties. We are perfectly justified in doing so. We might refer to the dispatches of Lord Palmerston and to the dispatches of Lord Russell, at the times when these treaties were made

and altered, which state, "If under cover of these treaties you carry on an ocean trade, then these treaties must be abrogated." That is one point. There are others which it would take long to consider, but I hope, if any wish to know what can be done, that they will at least give their thoughts to it, and that, at all events this meeting will have done something in helping to spread abroad a knowledge of the iniquities which are now going on.

The Rev. THEOPHILUS WALDEMEIR (missionary in Beyrout, formerly in Abyssinia): My dear friends, after the very eloquent statement concerning the slave-trade in East Africa which has been made by the gentleman who spoke just now, I cannot certainly attempt to direct your attention to that particular subject, more especially as I am a foreigner, and have not been in England more than two months. I therefore hope the audience will kindly forgive the deficiencies of my English expression. I will not detain you very long, but I will try to direct you a little to Abyssinia, where I was ten years, eight years engaged in missionary work, and two years confined in prison by King Theodore. Having, by the wonderful hand of God been delivered by the noble English expedition, I am thankful to the English nation, and shall be as long as I live. My knowledge of the slave-trade of Abyssinia was gained during my ten years' experience of the country. On the right bank of the Nile, in the province of Goshen, there is a slave-market which is notorious, under the name of the Great Basho Slave-market. That slave-market is in connection with Khartoum, Soudan, Nubia, Damascus, Babelmendel, Yemen, and India. During my residence in Abyssinia I frequently saw 50, 60, 100, or 150 young slaves, generally boys and girls, driven through the country to Massowah. Abyssinia itself does not cultivate the slave-trade, as it is a Christian kingdom; but I saw the slaves transported through the country, and it is a heartbreaking sight to see these children without any dress, bound together by little ropes, and driven as cattle before the slave merchants through Abyssinia to Massowah. The slave merchants come from Arabia and Egypt and attend the slave-market on the right bank of the Nile. There they have their servants whom they send into the interior of Africa to hunt after the slaves and catch the children while they are keeping their flocks in the field, thence they are driven to Massowah and taken to other places. These slave merchants, too, are generally missionaries for the extension of the Mohammedan religion, and they do what they can for the propagation of Islam in those interior dis-

tricts of East Africa, and I must say, with great sorrow, that they have succeeded so wonderfully in their mission, that tribe after tribe has become subject to the false religion of Mohammed, and thus a road for the slave merchant is being prepared from the Red Sea into the interior of Africa. I am also very sorry to say that the Christian Coptic Bishop of Cairo, in Egypt, though his name is the Father of Peace, did not do anything to stop the slave-trade when he came to Abyssinia not many years ago, in order to re-establish his bishopric there. On the contrary, when he left Abyssinia, he took with him more than 50 slaves, and he treated them so dreadfully on the road back through Nubia and Egypt to Cairo, that one-half of them died on the road. They were both insufficiently clothed and fed; and this was a great shame on the part of that holy father. King Theodore, however black he was, and however cruel he was, did a good deal to stop the slave-trade in East Africa, being influenced by the English Consul at Massowah, who kept up a very lively correspondence with him. I translated a good number of the letters that came from the English Consul to Theodore concerning the slave-trade. The King replied, "My dear friend,—As God has given me the kingdom, it is my holy duty to stop the slave-trade, and I do all that is in my power. If any slave-trader comes to Massowah with slaves, I bid you stop him and send the slaves back." So it happened that on certain different occasions a large number of slaves were sent back to King Theodore. Of course he could not send them back to the interior of Africa, from whence they came, but they were employed in Abyssinia. On one occasion he stopped a caravan of 200 slaves, and sent some of them to my schools. Some were educated, and one of them is now a most eminent and powerful preacher in Abyssinia. Another, who had acquired the Galla language, was sent to Germany to assist in translating the New Testament into that language, and that translation is just now being issued from the press. After accomplishing his work in Germany, he went back to Egypt, intending to go as a missionary to his own country; but he was seized with a severe attack of typhus fever, to which he fell a victim in Cairo. When I went from Beyrout to Damascus, I was exceedingly grieved to hear that there was a slave-market there. I had great difficulty in getting into the place, but I at last arrived there, and asked the keeper to open the different rooms. The house was a large corridor, with rooms all round, all locked up. The man opened one of these rooms and I went in. I found there some female slaves; in another room I found

boys, and in another slaves more advanced in age. I addressed them in their own native language, and they were exceedingly astonished to hear me speak to them. I asked them where they came from, and they told me, and some had been taken by force from a Christian province belonging to Abyssinia. My heart was quite broken when these poor little things stretched out their hands towards me, and said, "O dear sir, will you not be so kind as to buy us? you can get us, perhaps, very cheap; we are afraid we shall fall into the hands of Mohammedans, and be treated very cruelly." Of course I could not do anything, but I spoke to the English Consul, Captain Burton, and I am very glad to say that he took most energetic steps to try and put a stop to the dreadful slave-trade in Damascus. It is a disgrace to the human race, and an abomination in the sight of God. I believe that God has appointed England to the work of putting a stop to this slave-trade. He has given you great wealth and power, and you are enjoying an ocean of blessings, and I believe He has called you especially to the work of preventing this fearful traffic, not by the sword, not by war, but by preaching and teaching the glorious Gospel of Jesus Christ, an living a godly life amongst the nations; for it is only by proclaiming the glorious Gospel of Jesus Christ that we can liberate the nations of this world from the temporal and eternal bondage. Let us then look up to the Lord, and let us pour out our hearts in prayer to Him, that He might deliver the nations from this darkness and superstition and ignorance.

The CHAIRMAN: I am sure I may, in the name of the meeting, convey our hearty thanks to our friends who have come here on this occasion. In this building we are not much accustomed to giving verbal thanks to any one, but we feel them, Sir Bartle, none the less. In closing the meeting, I would just call your attention to the fact, that with all the horrors we have heard of to-night we have only touched the fringe of the subject. We have been engaged with the East Coast of Africa and with that alone. We have necessarily left untouched the slavery of the Polynesian Islands, in consequence of which, and of the greed of Englishmen, it may be said, of many of our countrymen as truthfully as in Montgomery's time—"Slaves to gold whose sordid dealings tarnish all their boasted powers." The slavery of the Polynesian Islands has directly resulted in the sacrifice of an excellent Christian bishop, the late Bishop Pattison, whom a Christian nation has just been revenging—according to the best accounts we can get, though we have not heard the full particulars—by bom-

barbing a number of helpless savages upon whom Englishmen had made the first onslaught. I hope that some other opportunity may be afforded—it probably cannot be at present—for this Society to learn, what we have learned to a very considerable extent, only recently, the enormous extent at which the slave-trade is extending throughout the world. Without the drawing of a sword we may do very much to stop it. We can insist at least in the way in which diplomatists know how to insist, upon the fulfilment by Spain of her treaty obligations, and that would put a stop absolutely to slavery in Cuba. There are many other ways of showing our earnestness and zeal, if we will but show it when and where we have the opportunity, and this meeting, if it prompts to any action of that sort, will not be in vain.

It is a great satisfaction to know that the effect of this great meeting, and of other efforts recently made to circulate a knowledge of the subject, has caused the enquiry to be made—What can we do?

In reply, we would, in the first place, observe that there is something of great practicable importance which every one can do. Every one may assist in spreading a knowledge of the present extent of the slave-trade in its old form on the continent of Africa, as well as of its more modern form under the specious name of a so-called free immigration.

A widespread knowledge of the evil lies, under the Divine blessing, at the very root of success in getting rid of this great evil.

The masses of the people of this country are opposed both to slavery and the slave-trade, but, being very much uninformed on the subject, they have for some years past taken little interest in it, and the Government, always in some degree a reflex of the mind of the people, has been, in great measure, indifferent to it also.

One of the consequences has been that the representatives of this country abroad—our Ambassadors, Envoys, and Consuls, with a few noble exceptions—have made no efforts to discountenance the evil, but have even, in some painful cases, offered a quasi apology for it.

We therefore earnestly recommend the friends of humanity everywhere to spread a knowledge of these evils by the platform, the press, and by private correspondence.

We would also urge them to communicate with their representatives in Parliament with the view of obtaining more suitable appointments in future, and especially, also, with the object of inducing our Government to appoint Consuls in all places where the slave-trade is either known or suspected to exist.

Whenever the public mind is sufficiently informed, and the public interest sufficiently aroused, many other courses of action will present themselves which are now almost impracticable.

POSTSCRIPT.

INFORMATION in those departments of those great subjects which could not be entered upon at this meeting—viz. the Polynesian Slave-trade—Slavery in Cuba, and the coolie traffic to that island—the oppressive treatment of the coolies in the Mauritius—will be found elsewhere in this number.

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